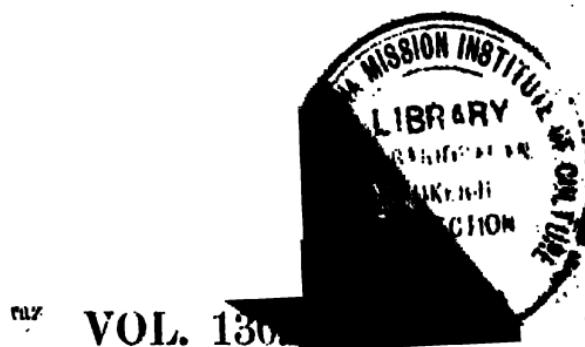


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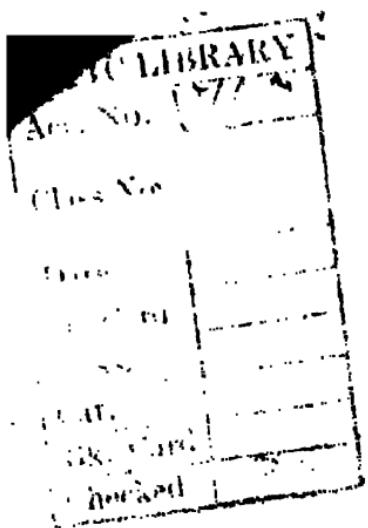
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CONTENTS

OF

No. 260.

ART.	Page
I.—A Life of Anthony Ashley, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683. By W. D. Christie, Formerly Her Majesty's Minister to the Argentine Confederation and to Brazil. 2 vols. London and New York, 1871	287
II.—The Handwriting of Junius Professionally Investigated. By Mr. Charles Chabot, Expert. With Preface and Collateral Evidence. By the Hon. Edward Twisleton. London. 4to. 1871	308
III.	
1. La France devant l'Europe. Par Jules Michelet. Seconde Edition. Florence Lyon et Bordeaux, 1871.	
2. La Révolution. Par Edgar Quinet. Cinquième Edition, Revue et augmentée de la Critique de Révolution. 2 vols. Paris, 1868.	
3. La Guerre de 1870. L'Esprit Parisien Produit du Régime Impérial. Par Emile Leclercq. Troisième Edition. Bruxelles, 1870.	
4. The Holy Roman Empire. By James Bryce, D.C.L., Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford. Third Edition, Revised. London, 1871.	
5. Deutschland und die Kaiseridee. Eine historisch-politische Untersuchung. Von Dr. Octavius Clason. Bonn, 1870.	
6. Das neue Deutsche Reich auf dem Grunde Germanischer Natur und Geschichte. Von Dr. H. Veta. Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1871.	
7. Preussens Deutsche Politik, 1785, 1806, 1849, 1866. Von Adolf Schmidt, ord. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. Umgearbeitete bis auf die Gegenwart fortgeführte dritte Auflage. Leipzig, 1867.	

Art.	Page
8. Zur Französischen Grenzregulirung. Deutsche Denkschriften aus den Verhandlungen des zweiten Pariser Friedens. Berlin, 1870.	351
9. Die Reden des Grafen von Bismarck-Schönhausen. Erste zweite und dritte Sammlungen, 1862-70. Berlin, 1870	351
IV.—1. Calendars of State Papers, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London, 1856-1870.	
2. Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. London, 1858-1870.	
3. Libraries and Founders of Libraries. By Edward Edwards. London, 1865	373
V.—1. An Act for the Support of Her Majesty's Household and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 Vict., c. 2. 1837.	
2. A Return of all Pensions granted and charged upon the Civil List, in accordance with the Act 1 Vict., c. 2, with the grounds upon which such Pensions have been granted, &c. (Moved by Mr. Stirling.) Published by Order of the House of Commons, 1861.	
3. List of all Pensions granted between the 20th of June, 1861, and the 20th of June, 1862, and charged upon the Civil List.	
4. Similar Lists annually to the 20th of June, 1870	407
VI.—St. Paul and Protestantism: with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England. By Matthew Arnold, M.A., LL.D., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. London, 1870	432
VII.—1. Recueil de Documents sur les Exactions, Vols., et Cruautés des Armées Prussiennes en France. Publié au Profit de la Société Internationale de Secours aux Blessés. Première Partie. Bordeaux, 1871. 8vo.	
2. Meddelelser om Preussernes og Østerrigernes Fjend i Slesvig. Copenhagen, 1869. 8vo.	
3. The 'Dagbladet,' 1871, No. 25. (Translated in the 'Standard,' February 10th, 1871)	452
VIII.—1. Das Geburtsjahr Christi; geschichtlich-chronologische Untersuchungen von A. W. Zumpt. Leipzig, 1869.	
2. Fasti Sacri, or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament. By Thomas Lewin, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1865	497

ART.

	Page
IX.—1. The Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry of Horace. Translated into English verse by John Conington, M.A., (late) Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. London, 1870.	
2. The Odes, Elegies, and Satires of Horace. Translated into English verse by Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London, 1870	513
X.—1. Nippon o Dai Itsu Ran, ou Annales des Empereurs du Japon. Traduites par M. Isaac Titsingh, avec un Aperçu de l'Histoire mythologique du Japon par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1834.	
2. Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schuttländern. Von Ph. Fr. von Siebold. Elberfeld, 1851.	
3. Bibliographie japonaise ou Catalogue des Ouvrages Relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le XV ^e Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours. Par M. Léon Pagès. Paris, 1859.	
4. The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence, with a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen. By Henry Venn, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's. London, 1862.	
5. Japan: being a Sketch of the History, Government, and Officers of the Empire. By Walter Dickson. Edinburgh, 1869	534
XI.—1. The Army Regulation Bill. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th February, 1871.	
2. Letters on Military Organisation. By Lord Elcho, M.P. London, 1871.	
3. The Military Forces of Great Britain. By Major-General Sir L. Simmons, K.C.B. London, 1871.	
4. The Army of Great Britain; what it is and what it might be. By Sir William Hamilton, Bart. London, 1871.	
5. On the Prussian Infantry, 1869. Translated from the German by Colonel Henry Aimé Ouvry, C.B. London, 1870	556

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW

ART. I.—*A Life of Anthony Ashley, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683.* By W. D. Christie, Formerly Her Majesty's Minister to the Argentine Confederation and to Brazil. 2 vols. London and New York, 1871.

THERE are few characters in English history better worth studying than that of Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury. He lived in most momentous times, and he played most important parts in them. He was a Royalist and a Parliamentarian by turns during the Great Rebellion; a kind of half-Cromwellian, with monarchical leanings, under the Commonwealth; a courtier, a patriot, a member of the Cabal, and a fierce Exclusionist, under the Restoration. He changed sides with an audacity, a rapidity, and an adroitness, that make it difficult, almost impossible, to decide whether he was corrupt or incorrupt, whether he acted upon principle or no-principle, whether he adopted expediency, broad enlightened expediency, for the rule of his public conduct, or, in each successive crisis, simply waited for the tide, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

If his changes had uniformly, or even generally, coincided with his interests or supposed views of personal advancement, there would be little room for doubt; but they did not. Making no allowance for him on this score, historians, poets, and lawyers, have joined in a chorus of reprobation. The brilliant rhetoric of Macaulay, the splendid satire of Dryden, the inexhaustible wit of Butler, the forensic acuteness of Lord Campbell, have been combined against his fame; yet no one of these formidable assailants can be deemed unexceptionable as a witness or a judge, and all of them together ought not to preclude renewed inquiry or appeal, if it can be shown that they were swayed by prejudice or imperfectly acquainted with the facts. In the full and complete Life before us, Mr. Christie has undertaken to show this: to prove that historians, poets, and lawyers, are equally at fault: that Shaftesbury was not a bad man, if an

erring one : that his admitted faults and vices were less those of the individual than of the age : that he lived in times when, to persist in an uncompromising course, was as impracticable as to walk straight amongst pitfalls or to keep clear of sunken rocks without tacking : that, whenever he joined or left a party or a cause, he did so because it had assumed fresh colours, or because a more effective mode of promoting the essential object of good government had broken upon him.

The undertaking was one of no ordinary boldness, and Mr. Christie is no ordinary biographer. Acute, cultivated, zealous, industrious, scrupulously accurate, justly confident in his resources and his views, he possesses (what we recently commended in Sir Henry Bulwer) the marked advantage of a peculiar training for his task. He has held high appointments in the diplomatic service, and he was an active member of the House of Commons for some years. In suggesting that biographers of statesmen will always be the better for some practical acquaintance with public affairs or statesmanship, we are not afraid of incurring the satirical reproof implied in the well-known line—

‘Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.’

Shaftesbury himself foresaw that he would be hardly judged by posterity. ‘Whoever considers the number and the power of the adversaries I have met with, and how studiously they have, under the authority of both Church and State, dispersed the most villainous slanders of me, will think it necessary that I in this follow the French fashion, and write my own Memoirs, that it may appear to the world on what ground or motives they came to be my enemies, and with what truth and justice they have prosecuted their quarrel ; and if in this whole narration they find me false or partial in any particular, I give up the whole to whatever censure they will make.’ Such is the commencement of a meditated autobiography, which breaks off abruptly at the most interesting point ; just when ‘my life is not without great mixtures of the public concern, and must be much intermingled with the history of the times.’ This fragment, however, is valuable as an illustration of the period and the writer. In describing or (to use his own expression) ‘setting down his youthful time’—including the particulars of his birth, family, and education—he incidentally throws light on national manners ; whilst his sketches of contemporaries are remarkable for fineness of perception, firmness of touch, rich racy expression, and vitality. One of them, that of Mr. Hastings, ‘son, brother, and uncle to the Earls of Huntingdon,’ (often reprinted) has won a place in popular literature by these

these qualities. There is another autobiographical fragment, which skims over parts of his early life in a more cursory fashion ; there is also extant a Diary for four years and a half of his middle life ; but little more than bare well-known facts are to be collected from these documents ; which occupy less than thirty pages of Mr. Christie's Appendix, and afford little aid when we come to the vexed questions or debateable ground. It is just possible that, on approaching this same ground, Shaftesbury paused and thought better of it, or that the maxim, attributed to an eighteenth-century diarist, occurred to him : ' Whenever you have made a good impression, go away.' The Fragments leave a decidedly favourable impression, which their completion or continuation might have disturbed.

' My birth (he states) was at Wimborn St. Gyles in the County of Dorsett, on the 22nd day of July, 1621, early in the morning ; my parents on both sides of a noble stock, being of the first rank of gentry in those countries where they lived.' It appears from this and other passages that the term ' noble ' was then used in England, as it is still used on the Continent, to designate merely ancient lineage or good birth. ' My mother's name (he continues) was Anne, the sole daughter and heir of Sir Anthony Ashley, knight and baronet, lord of the manor and place where I was born ; my father, Sir John Cooper, knight and baronet, son of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn in the county of Hamshire. I was christened by the name of Anthony Ashley, for, notwithstanding my grandfather had articed with my father and his guardians that he should change his name to Ashley, yet, to make all sure in the eldest, he resolved to add his name, so that it should not be parted with.'

Clarendon has recorded that many of the great men who took part in the Civil War were little men. An accurate notion of Shaftesbury's bodily proportions is conveyed by Dryden's nervous couplet :—

' A fiery soul, which working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay.'

He took after his mother and maternal grandfather in these respects. ' Sir Anthony Ashley was of great age, but of strong sense and health ; he had been for wisdom, courage, experience, skill in weapon, agility, and strength of body scarce paralleled in his age, of a large mind in all his actions, his person of the lowest. His daughter was of the same stature, a modest and virtuous woman, of a weaker mould, and not so stirring a mind as her father. Sir John Cooper was very lovely and graceful both in face and person, of a moderate stature, neither too high

nor too low, of an easy and an affable nature, fair and just in all affairs.' Sir Anthony Ashley, when nearly fourscore, had taken to wife a young lady under twenty, near of kin to the Duke of Buckingham, 'from whom he expected great preferment and, from *her*, children; but he failed of his expectation in the first, and his age, with the virtue of the young lady, could not help him to the latter.' He accordingly settled all his fortune on his son-in-law and daughter for their lives, with remainder in fee to Shaftesbury, 'for he grew every day more and more fond of me, being a prating boy and very observant of him.' Sir Anthony died in 1627, and Lady Cooper (the mother) in 1628, whereupon Sir John Cooper (the father) took for his second wife the widow of Sir Charles Moryson, and daughter and coheir of the Lord Viscount Camden, 'a lady beautiful and of great fortune, a discreet woman of a large soul, who, *if she had not given some jealousy to both her husbands, and confirmed it afterwards by marrying the person (Sir Richard Alford)*, mought (sic) have been numbered amongst the excellent.' This marriage caused the removal of the family to Cashiobury, the jointure house of the lady, where Sir John died, in March, 1630, Shaftesbury being thus left an orphan in his ninth year. Up to this time, and for about a year afterwards, he had been under the instruction of one Mr. Guerden, who subsequently became a physician of note. Mr. Guerden's successor in this charge was Mr. Fletcher, 'a very excellent teacher of grammar; and this is all we know of Shaftesbury's education till he went to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1637.

It is the remark of Gibbon that every man who rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more personal and important, from himself. Shaftesbury may be cited in confirmation of this theory, and he is also a striking instance of the precocity which occurs, or at all events is made prominent, so much more frequently in preceding generations than in our own. This is pre-eminently the age of septuagenarian, almost octogenarian, statesmen and generals; but we can no longer boast of youthful orators, ministers, heroes, and conquerors, like Fox, Pitt, Condé, and Napoleon; nor of men of mark marrying, settling, and taking up a distinguished position, public or private, in their teens. Shaftesbury was under eighteen when he married, under nineteen when he took his seat in the House of Commons, and hardly thirteen when he intervened personally in the management of his property, sadly mismanaged by his guardians, and succeeded in wresting a large slice from the grasp of an uncle who had hoped to plunder him through the connivance of the Court of Wards.

This

This uncle, Sir Francis Ashley, was a formidable antagonist, being the King's serjeant-at-law, and 'one of more elocution, learning, and abilitie, than gratitude or piety to his elder brother's family.' The main point in question was whether a deed of settlement took the estate out of wardship:

'Mr. Noy was then the King's Attorney, who, being a very intimate friend of my grandfather's, had drawn that settlement; my friends advised that I was in great danger if he would not undertake my cause, and yet, it being against the King, it was neither proper nor probable he would meddle in it for me; but weighing the temper of the man, the kindness he had for my grandfather, and his honour so concerned if a deed of that consequence should fail of his drawing, they advised that I must be my own solicitor, and carry the deed myself alone to him, which, being but thirteen years old, I undertook and performed with that pertness that he told me he would defend my cause though he lost his place. I was at the Court, and he made good his word to the full without taking one penny fees. My Lord Cottington was then Master of the Wards, who, sitting with his hat over his eyes, and having heard Sir Francis make a long and elegant speech for the overthrowing of my deed, said openly, "Sir Francis, you have spoke like a good uncle." Mr. Attorney Noy argued for me, and my uncle rising up to reply (I being then present in court), before he could speak two words, he was taken with a sudden convulsion fit, his mouth drawn to his ear, was carried out of the court, and never spoke more.'

Without going quite the length of the Reverend Mr. Thwackum in the doctrine of judgments, we call on all wicked uncles to take warning from this catastrophe. Shaftesbury's career at the University was no less typical of the coming man than that of Napoleon making snowball ramparts and directing mimic sieges at Brienne. We see the restless, scheming, turbulent politician as clearly as the nascent strategist in the bud. The mode in which he set about obtaining influence, and the uses he made of it, are equally characteristic.

'I kept both horses and servants in Oxford, and was allowed what expence or recreation I desired, which liberty I never much abused; but it gave me the opportunity of obliging by entertainments the better sort and supporting divers of the activest of the lower rank with giving them leave to eat when in distress upon my expence, it being no small honour amongst those sort of men, that my name in the buttery book willingly owned twice the expence of any in the University. This expence, my quality, proficiency in learning, and natural affability easily not only obtained the goodwill of the wiser and older sort, but made me the leader even of all the rough young men of that college (Exeter), famous for the courage and strength of tall, raw-boned Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen, which in great numbers yearly come to that college, and did then maintain in the schools

schools coursing against Christ Church, the largest and most numerous college in the University.'

This coursing, he goes on to explain, was in olden times intended for a fair trial of learning and skill in logic, metaphysics, and school divinity, but for some generations the verbal disputation had uniformly ended in affronts, confusion, and very often blows, 'when they went most gravely to work,' making a great noise with their feet, hissing and shoving with their shoulders, the stronger driving out the weaker, the proctors and occasionally the Vice-Chancellor being swept away with the throng.

'I was often one of the disputants, and gave the sign and order for their beginning, but, being not strong of body, was always guarded from violence by two or three of the sturdiest youths, as their chief, and one who always relieved them when in prison and procured their release, and very often was forced to pay the neighbouring farmers, when they of our party that wanted money were taken in the fact, for more geese, turkeys, and poultry than either they had stole or he had lost, it being very fair dealing if he made the scholar, when taken, pay no more than he had lost since his last reimbursement.'

Shaftesbury records with manifest exultation that there were two other things in which he had a principal hand when he was at college: 'the one, I caused that ill custom of tucking freshmen to be left off; the other, when the senior fellows designed to alter the beer of the college, which was stronger than other colleges, I hindered their design.' Proceeding warily and knowingly, he effectually stopped the deterioration of the beer. His plan was this. The poorer undergraduates who were intended by their friends to get their livelihood by their studies were directed to rest quiet whilst all the others 'that were elder brothers, or unconcerned in their anger,' should go in a body and strike their names out of the buttery book; 'which was accordingly done, and had the effect that the senior fellows, seeing their pupils going that yielded them most profit, presently struck sail and articed with us never to alter the size of our beer, which remains so to this day.' The other, he tells us, was a harder work, tucking being a custom of great antiquity for the senior to call up the freshmen and make them hold out their chin, 'and they (the seniors) with the nail of the right thumb, left long for that purpose, grate off all the skin from the lip to the chin and then cause them to drink a beer-glass of water and salt.'

He had made up his mind not to undergo 'tucking,' and by a lucky chance the freshmen of his year were a strong body, physically and numerically strong, comprising 'more and lustier young gentlemen' than had come to the college in several

years

years before, who, on his prompting, ‘cheerfully engaged to stand stoutly in defence of their chins.’ They all appeared at the appointed evening in the hall, ‘and my Lord of Pembroke’s son calling me first, as we knew by custom it would begin with me, I according to agreement gave the signal, striking him a box on the ear, and immediately the freshmen fell on, and we easily cleared the buttery and the hall, but bachelors and young masters coming in to assist the seniors, we were compelled to retreat to a ground chamber in the quadrangle.’

In this extremity they appear to have turned their classical studies to good account. Like the two champions in the ‘*Æneid*’ who threw open the gates of the camp, ‘some of the stoutest and strongest of our freshmen, giant-like boys, opened the door, let in as many as they pleased, and shut the door by main strength upon the rest.’ Those who had been let in were beginning to rue their rashness, when Shaftesbury interposed and proposed to employ them as negotiators, ‘some of them being considerable enough to make terms for us, which they did; for Dr. Prideaux, always favourable to youth offending out of courage, uniting with the fears of those we had within, gave us articles of pardon for what had passed and an utter abolition in that college of that foolish custom.’

The story of his marriage in his eighteenth year with a daughter of the Lord Keeper Coventry is told in the same quaint and pointed language. The young couple took up their residence with the Lord Keeper at his town house, paying occasional visits to Dorsetshire, where Shaftesbury’s main object was to keep up his county influence and mortify his principal rival, Mr. Rogers, ‘a near neighbour, of a noble family and estate, a proper handsome man, and indeed a very worthy noble gentleman, and one that thought so well of himself as gave him a value with others.’ The principal scene of action was a bowling-green at Hanley, ‘where the gentlemen went constantly once a week, though neither the green nor accommodation were inviting, yet it was well placed for to continue the correspondence of the gentry of those parts.’ Here he omitted no opportunity to show up Mr. Rogers, whose coach and six, garb, and discourse, ‘all spoke him one that thought himself above them, which, *when observed to them*, they easily agreed to. My family, alliance, fortune, being not prejudiced either by nature or education, gave me the juster grounds to take exceptions; besides, my affable, easy temper, now with care improved, rendered the stiffness of his demeanour more visible.’ Although the only finished portrait in the *Autobiography* is the familiar one of Mr. Hastings, each of the leading gentry has a graphic sentence or two devoted to him, showing how carefully

Shaftesbury

Shaftesbury studied character with the obvious view of preparing stepping-stones for his ambition.

No reasonable reader complains of any number of egotistical confessions or revelations in a diary or autobiography. We like Pepys the better for his weaknesses, and we are amused by the self-complacency with which Lord Herbert of Cherbury expatiates on his own physical advantages, as when he says: 'It is well known to those that wait in my chamber that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body are sweet beyond what either easily can be believed or hath been observed in any one else.' Shaftesbury is equally frank, and our wonder at the exertions of which so feeble a frame was capable is greatly enhanced at finding that he was a constant sufferer from disease:

'At the hunting I was taken with one of my usual fits, which for divers years had hardly missed me one day, which lasted for an hour, betwixt eleven and one, sometimes beginning earlier and sometimes later betwixt those times. It was a violent pain of my left side, that I was often forced to lie down wherever I was; at last it forced a working in my stomach, and I put up some spoonfuls of clear water, and I was well, if I may call that so, when I was never without a dull aching pain of that side. Yet this never abated the cheerfulness of my temper; but, when in the greatest fits, I hated pitying and loved merry company, and, as they told me, was myself very pleasant when the drops fell from my face for pain; but then my servant near me always desired they would not take notice of it, but continue their diversions, which was more acceptable to me; and I had always the women and young people about me at those times, who thought me acceptable to them, and peradventure the more admired me because they saw the visible symptoms of my pain, which caused in all others so contrary an effect.'

This hunting took place near Tewkesbury, and the 'meet' was attended by the bailiffs and burgesses of that borough, who, 'being no hard riders,' dropped behind to keep the young baronet company; and a part of the discourse turned on 'an old knight in the field, a crafty, perverse, rich man, in power as being of the Queen's Privy Council, a bitter enemy of the town and Puritans as rather inclined to the Popish way.' At dinner, the same day, Shaftesbury was seated opposite Sir Harry Spiller, the old knight in question, who 'began with all the affronts and dislikes he could put on their bailiffs or their entertainment, which enraged and discontented them the more, it being in the face of the first gentlemen of the country, and when they resolved to appear in their best colours.' Here was one of the opportunities which Shaftesbury was ever ready and well qualified to seize. 'When the first course was near spent, and he continued

his rough raillery, I thought it my duty, eating their bread, to defend their cause the best I could, which I did with so good success, not sparing the bitterest retorts I could make him, which his way in the world afforded matter for, that I had a perfect victory over him. This gained the townsmen's hearts, and their wives' to boot ; I was made free of the town, and the next parliament, though absent, without a penny charge, was chosen Burgess by an unanimous vote.'

The parliament for which he was thus elected was the Short Parliament, which met on the 13th April and was dissolved on the 5th May, 1640. There is no trace of his having spoken in it. The next parliament, which met on the 3rd November, 1640, was the Long Parliament. He was elected for Downton, but the validity of the return was left undecided, and he did not take his seat under it till shortly before the Restoration (Jan. 7, 1660), when the Long Parliament had sunk into contempt and derision as the 'Rump.' He consequently took no part in its early debates and most memorable proceedings, and was left comparatively free from the heat of civil conflict to choose his side. He became of age on the 22nd July, 1642, a month before the royal standard was set up at Nottingham ; and he has entered in his Diary that 'he was with the King at Nottingham and Derby, but only as a spectator, having not as yet adhered against the Parliament.' Early in 1643, he had begun to play a prominent part :

'1643. Sir Anthony left the ladies, and went into Dorset to his house at St. Giles Winborne, where he continued generally till, the Lord Marquess Herford coming into the county, he was employed for the treating with the towns of Dorchester and Weymouth to surrender, the commission being directed to him, Napper, Hele, Ogle, which they effected, and Sir Anthony was by the gentlemen of the county desired to attend the King with their desires and the state of the county.'

According to Martyn, partly confirmed by Locke, he sought an interview with the King at Oxford, and offered to undertake the general pacification of the realm, if the required powers were vested in him, at which His Majesty naturally demurred, saying 'You are a young man, and talk great things.' According to the same authority, all Shaftesbury's plans were 'spoilt by Prince Maurice, and on Cooper's complaining to the King, it is said that "the King shook his head with some concern, but said little." It is further stated that, after this first grand project was broken by Prince Maurice, Cooper started another, which was that the counties should all arm and endeavour to suppress both the contending armies ; and that Cooper brought most of the sober and well-

well-intentioned gentlemen of both sides throughout England into this plan.

Most of this is pronounced by Mr. Christie to be downright falsehood; and its inherent absurdity is self-evident. To propose that the counties should all arm and endeavour to suppress both the contending armies, is very like proposing that the contending parties should combine to put down party. There is not the faintest allusion to any project of pacification, or interview with the King, in the Diary; from which we learn merely that Shaftesbury was made Governor of Weymouth and Portland by the Marquis of Hertford, and that, under a commission from the same nobleman, he raised a full regiment and a troop of horse at his own charge:—

‘Some months after this, Marquess Hertford’s commission was taken away, yet Sir Anthony had a continuation of all his commands under the King’s own hand, and he was made high sheriff of the county of Dorset, and president of the council of war for those parts.

‘Notwithstanding, he now plainly seeing the King’s aim destructive to religion and the state, and though he had an assurance of the barony of Astley Castle, which had formerly belonged to that family, and that but two days before he received a letter from the King’s own hand of large promises and thanks for his service, yet in February he delivered up all his commissions to Ashburnham, and privately came away to the Parliament, leaving all his estate in the King’s quarters, 500*l.* a year full-stocked, two houses well furnished, to the mercy of the enemy, resolving to cast himself on God and to follow the dictates of a good conscience. Yet he never in the least betrayed the King’s service, but while he was with him was always faithful.’

Such is Shaftesbury’s account of his first change of sides, which Mr. Christie sees no reason to reject or qualify, considering that other persons of importance and unquestionable integrity left the King’s party about the same time for similar reasons, and that the royal cause was just then in the ascendant in the western counties. Lord Campbell is less charitable, and follows Clarendon, who attributes the change to pique. Shaftesbury, he says, having been superseded in his governorship of Weymouth and otherwise crossed or slighted by Prince Maurice, ‘he was thereby so much disengaged that he quitted the King’s party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the Parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal cause.’ It was not in Shaftesbury’s nature to be lukewarm, and his zeal in every cause in which he chanced to be engaged is a sign of his good faith. Far from distrusting his assertion, that he never in the least betrayed the King’s service whilst he was in

in it, his assailants give him credit for a chastity of honour and a scrupulous delicacy which we command to public men in general and especially to diplomatists. When examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, before whom new converts of consequence were brought, he absolutely refused to make any discovery, either of persons or the management of affairs, whilst he was at Oxford. 'In every part of his life he governed himself by this rule, that there is a general and tacit trust in conversation, whereby a man is obliged not to repeat anything to the speaker's prejudice, though no intimation may be given of a desire not to have it spoken again.'

Historians differ as to the degree of cordiality with which Shaftesbury was received by the Parliament. That he was at first regarded with some suspicion or distrust, may be inferred from the circumstance that he was unable to gain admittance to the House of Commons, and that some months, marked by active services, elapsed before he was allowed to compound by a moderate fine (500*l.*) for his estates. But he speedily made known his value both as a political partisan and a citizen soldier; for in less than a year (August, 1644) he received a commission to command a brigade of horse and foot, with the title of Field-Marshal-General; and with this force he besieged and reduced Wareham. In the October following, being appointed Commander-in-Chief for the Parliament in Dorsetshire, he took the field with ten regiments of horse and foot, with which he stormed Abbotsbury, the fortified house of Sir John Strangways, garrisoned by a cavalier regiment, which, after a desperate defence, capitulated. An officer engaged in this affair writes, 'When by no other means we could get it, we found a way by desperately flinging fired turf-saggots into the windows, and the fight then grew so hot that our said Commander-in-Chief (who, to his perpetual renown, behaved most gallantly in this service) was forced to bring up his men within pistol-shot of the house, and could hardly get them to stay and stand the brunt.' After clearing the surrounding country of royalist forces, he advanced to the relief of Taunton, where Blake was sorely pressed, and the siege was raised at his approach.

In mere wantonness of depreciation, and without the semblance of authority, Lord Campbell says that 'he (Shaftesbury) wrote a flaming account of the exploit to the Parliament, taking greater

* Martyn, vol. i. p. 142. Locke's Works, vol. ix. p. 270. When examined by the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire whether certain expressions had been used by Shiel at a dinner party, Sir Francis Burdett made answer, that his memory was so peculiarly constituted as to be unable to retain the slightest impression of anything that passed or was spoken at table.

credit to himself than Cromwell in his despatch announcing his victory at Dunbar.' The actual report, in the shape of a letter to Lord Essex, has been printed from the Harleian MSS. by Mr. Christie, and turns out to be simple, plain, and businesslike, without one boastful or turgid expression. The military commands which he subsequently held are cursorily mentioned in the Diary as unattended by results for want of men; and his military career terminated in 1645. Mr. Christie thinks that he withdrew from the army along with the rest of the Presbyterian leaders, who were driven out by the 'Self-denying Ordinance' and the 'New Model.' Lord Campbell says captiously: 'He was suddenly satisfied with his military glory, and after this brilliant campaign never again appeared in the field: whether he retired from some affront, or mere caprice, is not certainly known.' Dryden's sneer at his brief military career is equally gratuitous:—

‘A martial hero, first with early care
Blown, like a pigmy by the winds, to war,
A beardless chief, a rebel o'er a man,
So young his hatred to his Prince began.’

The winds first 'blew him' into the royal camp, and he was no longer beardless when he became a rebel. His Diary, from January 1, 1646, to April 10, 1650 (when it ends) is meagre in the extreme. It is studiously confined to domestic incidents and personal matters, and contains not a single comment on any of the great political events, including the royal martyrdom, that occurred in the interval. But we collect from it that he took an active part in country business, and co-operated with the authorities for the enforcement of the law of the land. After stating that he had been sworn a justice of the peace for the county of Wilts, and was in commission for oyer and terminer the whole circuit, he sets down:—

‘August 11, 1646.—Sir John Danvers came and sat with us. Seven condemned to die, four for horse stealing, two for robbery, one for killing his wife; he broke her neck with his hands; *it was proved that, he touching her body the day after, her nose bled fresh*; four burnt in the hand, one for felony, three for manslaughter; *the same sign followed one of them, of the corpse b'eeding.*’

This, gravely set down by a man like Shaftesbury, is a remarkable proof of the strength of the popular superstition.

In January, 1652, he was named one of the Parliamentary Commissioners for the reform of the law, and an entry in the Journal, dated March 17, 1653, runs thus:—

‘Resolved by the Parliament that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, baronet,

baronet, be, and is herby, pardoned of all delinquency, and be, and is herby, mado capable of all other privileges as any other of the people of this nation are.'

There is no reason for believing, with Martyn and Lord Campbell, that he had been guilty of any delinquency more recent than his (in Independent eyes) original sin in taking service with the Crown. He was one of ten members for the county of Wilts in Barebones' Parliament, and his detractors take for granted that he fell in with the humours of this strange assembly, prayed, canted, and sought the Lord with the best of them:—

' Next this—how wildly will ambition steer !
A vermin wriggling in the usurper's ear.
Bartering his venal wit for sums of gold,
He cast himself into the saint-like mould :
Groaned, sighed, and prayed, while godliness was gain,
The loudest bag-pipe of the squeaking train.'

There is not the slightest evidence that he did anything of the kind. He regularly acted and voted with the moderate party in this assembly; but the fact of his having been a member of it was remembered against him when he became a Peer:—

' A little bobtail'd lord, uxchin of state,
A praise-god Barebone peer, whom all mon hate.'

The charge of wriggling in the usurper's ear derives some semblance of plausibility from his being deputed by the House to offer Hampton Court to Cromwell, and becoming one of the fifteen members of the Council of State named in the new Constitution which established the Protectorate for life. He certainly made common cause with Cromwell against the fanatics, and, during a brief interval, had the air of trusting in and being trusted by him. If we may believe Burnet, 'he (Shaftesbury) pretended that Cromwell offered to make him king. He was indeed of great use to him in withstanding the enthusiasts of that time. He was one of those who pressed him most to accept of the kingdom, because, as he said afterwards, he was sure it would ruin him.' In the closing years of his life Shaftesbury was in the habit of talking loosely and boastfully of his former doings; and, not intending to be taken literally, he may have said something of the sort to intimate the high sense Cromwell entertained of his services, or by way of mystifying Burnet, whose credulity and love of gossip were well known. It is impossible to believe that Cromwell did offer to make him king, or (for it comes to this, if he in turn wished Cromwell to be king) that the throne was bandied between them, or made the subject of an interchange of compliments, like a chair

chair or place of precedence between two courtiers, which each presses the other to accept.

Early in 1655, Shaftesbury quietly withdrew from Cromwell's Privy Council, and gradually came to be regarded as a decided opponent of his views. There was no open rupture or avowed cause of dissatisfaction, and conjecture has consequently been busy in imputing motives, public and private, the least creditable the better. Some will have it that Shaftesbury aspired to the Great Seal and was refused: others, that he sought the hand of the Lady Mary, the Protector's daughter; that his addresses were declined on the ground of his dissolute morals; and that the disappointment of his ambitious love was the occasion of the breach. Considering that the estrangement was gradual, and that there is no proof whatever of his having aspired to the lady's hand or (at that time) to the Great Seal, the simplest explanation is the best. He was willing to go along with Cromwell to the extent of making him Chief Magistrate, or Head of the Executive, under constitutional restrictions, but shrank from the creation of an uncontrolled despotism or dictatorship. His position in the Presbyterian party, to whom he owed his influence, was at stake; and he had obviously no alternative but to become one of the Protector's creatures or to separate from him. How matters stood between them is shown by Shaftesbury's exclusion from the Second Parliament elected under the Instrument of Government; and also by the remark attributed, on respectable authority, to Cromwell, that 'there was no one he was more at a loss how to manage than that Marcus Tullius Cicero, the little man with three names.' If that little man could have been induced to name his price, the odds are that it would have been readily paid, even if he had named the Great Seal or a daughter.

Lord Campbell says that upon being refused the hand of 'the musical, glib-tongued Lady Mary,' he (Shaftesbury) finally broke with Oliver, and became a partisan of the banished royal family. This is glaringly incorrect. He did not become a partisan of the royal family until after Oliver's death, when the people, with one accord, flew from petty tyrants to the throne, and the Restoration offered the sole protection against anarchy. His public appearances during the five or six years' interval were limited by the jealousy or hostility he had provoked. The certificate of approbation from the Council, without which no member could take his seat, was refused to more than a hundred members of the Parliament of 1656. He was one of these, and he joined with sixty-four others in signing a letter of complaint to the Speaker, which was followed up by a spirited Remonstrance

to the People, denouncing whoever advised the exclusion, or who should sit and vote in the 'mutilated' assembly, as capital enemies of the Commonwealth. The mutilated assembly proceeded, notwithstanding, to pass the new Constitution, entitled the Humble Petition and Advice, under which Parliament was to consist of two Houses; and Cromwell forthwith proceeded to nominate his peers. We need hardly say that Shaftesbury was not one of this favoured and speedily discredited body, but he was allowed to sit in the House of Commons during the Session of 1658, and he played a conspicuous part in the opposition to the new Constitution and the new Lords whom the Commons refused to recognise. He was a teller on the division which led to the immediate dissolution of this Parliament, the last called by Oliver, who died in September, 1658, and was succeeded by his son Richard, whose first Parliament met in January, 1659. Shaftesbury was again a member, and an active and influential one. He delivered in it, and published at the time, a carefully prepared speech, which may be accepted as the best specimen extant of his oratory, and one of the best specimens of the oratory of the age.

The leading speakers were then earnest, plain, and practical, rather than rhetorical or declamatory. They were rarely full and flowing, rarely what is commonly called eloquent; rarely imaginative in the highest sense of the term. Their greatest effects were produced by terse weighty sentences, apt homely metaphors, sudden turns, quaint allusions, condensed reasoning, and bold apostrophes. They were occasionally long-winded. Hume describes Pym as opening the charge against Strafford 'in a long-studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner;' and contemptuously referring to an attempt to put the Parliamentary champions in balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity—with Cato, Brutus, Cassius—the historian exclaims: 'Compare only one circumstance and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble antients were (*sic*) totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy, in the cultivation of polite letters and civilised society. The whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy.' This was partly true of Vane, Cromwell, and many others when the Saints were uppermost: during 'Barebone's Parliament or in the worst days of the Rump.' But it was not true of the parliamentary celebrities of the antecedent or immediately ensuing periods—of 1628, 1640, or 1659; not true of Hampden, Holles, Digby, Capel, Hyde, Falkland, and a host of accomplished and highly-cultivated men, whose minds and memories

memories fairly ran over with classical illustrations. Of the two principal speakers, quoted by Hume, in 1628, one, Sir Francis Seymour, refers to Herodotus, and the other, Sir Robert Philips, to Livy.

The homeliness of Strafford's illustrations, in his memorable defence, is no less remarkable than their appositeness :

‘ Where has this species of guilt (constructive treason) been so long concealed ? Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once, to consume me and my children. . . . If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor, in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damage : but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime ? Where is the token by which I should discover it ? It has lain concealed under water, and no human prudence, or human innocence, could save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.’

The language of the Royal Martyr bore no trace of the ambiguity or double-dealing with which he has been charged, and may be recommended, for idiomatic simplicity and force, to premiers and cabinets by whom royal speeches are composed. ‘ You have taken the whole machine of government to pieces’—was his warning address to the Parliament of 1640—‘ a practice frequent with skilful artists when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting.’ In the short speech, which he delivered from the speaker’s chair on the occasion of the ill-advised attempt to seize the five members, he said : ‘ Well, since the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return.’

Shaftesbury’s oratory was formed in the same school, and after the best models. As he was uniformly plain-spoken, it contradicts that theory of his character which would make him prone to dissimulation and deceit. As he left no doubt of his intentions for the time, we may conclude that he had no interest in concealing them ; and he would thus present only one instance among many where honesty of purpose has coexisted with instability. There is another point of view in which his speeches throw light upon the inculpated and dubious passages of his career. Was he at any time a demagogue ? How did he wield the fierce democracy, if he wielded it ? Was it by boldly appealing to popular passions or by adroitly using them ? Was he nearest to a Mirabeau or a Talleyrand ? Macaulay, referring to the debates on the Exclusion Bill, says : ‘ The power of Shaftesbury

Shaftesbury over large masses was unrivalled. Halifax was disqualified by his whole character, moral and intellectual, for the part of a demagogue. It was in small circles, and, above all, in the House of Lords, that his ascendancy was felt.' Dryden paints Halifax :—

‘Of piercing wit and pregnant thought;
Endued by nature and by learning taught
To move assemblies.’

Such was the contemporary impression of Halifax, whose oratory is utterly lost; but we nowhere read that Shaftesbury was deemed a mob orator, and, judging from the tone and style of his speeches as well as from the recorded effects of some of them, we should infer that what the brilliant historian says of his favourite is equally true of the peculiar object of his vituperation; that it was in small circles, and, above all, in the House of Lords, that Shaftesbury's ascendancy was felt. He is never vehement or declamatory. He never appeals to the passions of his audience: he appeals to their reason, or to their prejudices when these have gained the strength of reason, and appeals in a manner which it requires no small degree of refinement and culture to appreciate. His sound sense, his ample stores of knowledge and observation, his dexterity, his fertility, his irony, his wit, would be lost upon a turbulent assembly as surely as his little person would be submerged in a crowd, and not a fragment of his composition has been preserved which does not bear the impress of a certain description of fastidiousness. Strange to say, these fragments manifest that very proneness to generalisation which Macaulay supposes distinctive of Halifax. The speech against Cromwell's peers abounds in maxims and theories, in fine strokes of satire, and in reasonings which are sometimes almost puzzling from their subtlety:

‘One of the few requests the Portuguese made to Phillip the Second, King of Spain, when he got that kingdom, as his late Highness did this, by an army, was, that he would not make nobility contemptible by advancing such to that degree whose quality or virtuo could be noways thought to deserve it. Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniences ourselves. It was, in Richard the First's time, one of the Bishop of Ely's accusations, that castles and forts of great trust he did “obscuris et ignotis hominibus tradere”—put in the hands of obscure and unknown men. But we, Mr. Speaker, to such a kind of men are delivering up the power of our laws, and, in that, the power of all.

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‘After their quality, give me leave to speak a word or two of their qualifications; which certainly ought, in reason, to carry some pro-

portion with the employment they design themselves. The House of Lords are the King's great hereditary Council; they are the highest court of judicature; they have their part in judging and determining of the reasons for making new laws and abrogating old: from amongst them we take our great officers of State: they are commonly our generals at land, and our admirals at sea. In conclusion, they are both of the essence and constitution of our old government; and have, besides, the greatest and noblest share in the administration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the dictates of reason, one would imagine some small faculties and endowments to be necessary for discharging such a calling; and those such as are not usually acquired in shops and warehouses, nor found by following the plough: and what other academics most of their lordships have been bred in but their shops, what other arts they have been versed in but those which more required good arms and good shoulders than good heads, I think we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the education of our children to ignorant and illiterate masters; nay, we trust not our horses to unskillful grooms. I beseech you, let us think it belongs to us to have some care into whose hands we commit the management of the commonwealth; and if we cannot have persons of birth and fortune to be our rulers, to whose quality we would willingly submit, I beseech you, Sir, for our credit and safety's sake, let us seek men at least of parts and education, to whose abilities we may have some reason to give way. If a patient dies under a physician's hand, the law esteemeth not a felony, but a misfortune, in the physician: but it has been held by some, if one who is no physician undertakes the management of a cure, and the party miscarries, the law makes the empiric a felon: and sure, in all men's opinion, the patient a fool. To conclude, Sir, for great men to govern is ordinary; for able men it is natural; knaves many times come to it by force and necessity, and fools sometimes by chance; but universal choice and election of fools and knaves for government was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.'

He thus disposes of their claims on the score of services:—

‘Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any man to declare their services, and acknowledge them: though I might tell you that the same honour is not purchased by the blood of an enemy and of a citizen; that for victories in civil wars, till our armies marched through the city, I have not read that the conquerors have been so void of shame as to triumph. Caesar, not much more indulgent to his country than our late Protector, did not so much as write public letters of his victory at Pharsalia; much less had he days of thanksgiving to his gods, and anniversary feasts, for having been a prosperous rebel.’

‘The wit of irony (says Sydney Smith, in his Lectures) consists in the surprise excited by the discovery of that relation which exists between the apparent praise and the real blame. I shall

shall quote a noble specimen of irony, from the "Preface" of "Killing no Murder." It would be difficult to find a better, if not nobler, specimen than a passage in the speech before us. •

'But, Sir, I leave this argument; and, to be as good as my word, come to put you in mind of some of their services, and the obligations you owe them for the same. To speak nothing of one of my Lords Commissioners' valour at Bristol,* nor of another noble lord's brave adventure at the Bear-garden,† I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the courage to do things which I may boldly say, few other Christians durst so have adventured their souls to have attempted: they have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters that raised and maintained them; they have not only conquer'd Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too, and there suppress'd a malignant party of magistrates and laws; and, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed compleat conquerors, without the help of philosophy they have even conquer'd themselves. All shame they have subdued as perfectly as all justice; the oaths they have taken they have as easily digested as their old General could himself; public covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so entire a victory they have over themselves, that their consciences are as much their servants, Mr. Speaker, as we are. But give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirableness than all this, and shows the confidence they have of themselves and us: after having many times trampled on the authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the House of Commons, to be made a House of Lords.'

Shaftesbury played an active and influential part in the plots, councils, and machinations which led to the Restoration; but there is no ground for the accusation of rashness or undue zeal levelled at him by M. Guizot, who says that, 'accused, with good reason, of complicity in the insurrection (Booth's), Sir Anthony Cooper, on the report of Nevil, was declared innocent.' The only evidence against him was that of a boy, who stated that he had carried a letter from him to Booth. A fragment of his biography contains a detailed account of the manner in which Monk was with difficulty induced to take a decided course, principally under the persuasion or compulsion of his wife, a strong-minded and high-spirited woman, who deserves to be placed alongside of Lady Fairfax and Mrs. Hutchinson in the female Valhalla, when there is one. It is traditionally related that, as Shaftesbury was returning from the City after an attempt to bring about a concert with Monk, the mob surrounded the carriage,

* Fiennes, condemned to death by a court-martial for cowardice.

† Colonel Pride, who endeavoured to suppress bear-baiting by a wholesale slaughter of bears.

crying out, 'Down with the Rump.' He put his head out at the window, and exclaimed: 'What, gentlemen, not one good piece in a rump!' The joke told, and he was loudly cheered as he passed on.

During the next twelve or thirteen years his chosen field of ambition was the Court, and his freshly-revived loyalty seemed fixed. He was one of the twelve Commissioners deputed by the Commons to meet the restored monarch, and one of the small batch of Privy Councillors named during the two days' halt at Canterbury. He was also an acting member of the tribunal specially appointed for the trial, which meant condemnation, of the regicides; for which politic compliancy Mrs. Hutchinson brands him as 'a vile traitor,' on the strength of his pledge to her husband that, 'if the King was brought back, not a hair of any man's head, nor a penny of any man's estate, should be touched for what had passed.' The most Mr. Christie can urge in mitigation is, that Monk gave a similar pledge to Ludlow, saying that, 'if he suffered such a thing, he should be the arrantest rogue alive'; and that Monk was also one of the judges. Shaftesbury spoke repeatedly in the Convention Parliament, and it was he who moved the adjournment of a debate on religion, which lasted till ten at night, when the House (as recorded in the 'Parliamentary History') 'sat an hour in the dark before candles were suffered to be brought in, and they were twice blown out, but the third time they were preserved, though with great disorder.' He was raised to the Upper House in April, 1661, as Baron Ashley, of Wimborne St. Giles, by a Patent, reciting that 'at length by his counsels, in concert with our beloved and faithful George Monk, knight, &c., &c., he did a service worthy to be remeindered, and most grateful to us, in the great business of restoring us to our kingdom, and delivering his country from the bitter servitude under which it so long groaned.'

According to modern notions, his removal from the Lower House was a strange preliminary to his next appointment, that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he received on the 13th May, 1661, and held till November, 1672, when he was made Lord Chancellor. All contemporary accounts agree that he could be an excellent man of business when it suited him. Pepys entered in his Diary for May, 1663, 'I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready, quiet, and diligent person.' According to Lord Campbell, 'his conduct after the Restoration for the next seven years seems wholly inexplicable, for he remained quite regular, and seemingly contented. He had a little excitement by sitting as a Judge on the trial of the regicides, and joining in the sentence on some of his old associates. These

These trials being over, he seemed to sink down into a Treasury drudge.' The regularity was on the surface, the contentment was in mere outward seeming, and he had as much excitement as he could reasonably desire; for he was unceasingly struggling to attain a paramount position in the royal counsels, and uniformly regarded the place he held for the nonce as a stepping-stone to a higher. The rival whom he was most anxious to supersede or distance was Clarendon. The Comte de Comminges, the French Ambassador, wrote April 9, 1663:—

'Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was formerly of Cromwell's Council, and who in my opinion is the only man who can be set against Clarendon for talent and firmness, does not shrink from speaking his opinions of Clarendon with freedom, and contradicting him to his face.'

Ruvigny, who succeeded Comminges, writes, in 1664, that Shaftesbury was united with Lauderdale and others, 'who spare no pains to ruin Clarendon in the free convivial entertainments, which are of daily occurrence,' adding, 'they do not scruple to speak of him with freedom in the presence of the King, who has had his own *mot*, like the rest, in the excitement of conviviality, thus giving free scope to all his guests.' These free convivial entertainments commonly took place in Lady Castlemaine's apartments, from which Clarendon studiously absented himself, leaving (like Sir Peter Teazle) his character behind him. The circle was collected with the sole view to pleasure, and constraint of every sort was laid aside:—

'The song from Italy, the step from France,
The midnight orgy and the mazy dance,
The smile of beauty and the flush of wine,
For fops, fools, gamblers, knaves, and lords combine,
Each to his humour—Comus all allows,
(Champagne, dice, music, or your neighbour's spouse.)'

Shaftesbury was a frequent guest at these entertainments, and was bidden to them as a congenial spirit. Pepys describes him as 'a man of great business, and yet of pleasure and drolling too.' It does not much help the matter to suppose with Mr. Christie that, temperate by nature and habit, he affected licentiousness from policy, or to accept as the true theory of his conduct, that (in the words of a contemporary pamphleteer) 'he accompanies, and carouses, and contracts intimacy and unity with the lewdest debauchees in all the nation that he thinks will anyways help to forward his private intrigues.' This would be the reverse of ordinary hypocrisy: it would be virtue paying homage to vice. If he acted thus,

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thus, if he was *le fanfaron des vices dont il n'était pas capable*, he certainly played his part in a way to impose on a tolerably discerning judge of immorality, the King, who is reported to have said to him, ‘Shaftesbury, you are the wickedest dog in England :’ to which he replied, with a bow: ‘Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am.’ The currency of this story in any version (and there is more than one) is enough.*

The unbecoming levity of Charles in suffering the honestest and most trustworthy of his counsellors to be made a constant subject of ridicule in such society, is aggravated by the family tie formed by the marriage of Anne Hyde to the Duke of York. A story strikingly illustrative of Shaftesbury’s penetration is told by Locke in connection with this event. ‘Soon after the Restoration, he and the Earl of Southampton were dining with the Earl of Clarendon ; the Lady Anne Hyde, who had been recently privately married to the Duke of York, was present. As Shaftesbury and Southampton were returning home together, the former remarked, “Yonder Mrs. Anne Hyde is certainly married to one of the brothers.” Southampton, who was a confidential friend of the chancellor, but who was quite ignorant of the marriage, thought the idea absurd, and asked him how so wild a fancy could get into his head. “Assure yourself,” replied Shaftesbury, “it is so ; a concealed respect, however suppressed, showed itself so plainly in the looks, voice, and manner, wherewith her mother carved to her or offered her of every dish, that it is impossible but it must be so.”’

Clarendon’s fall was precipitated by the course of events, by the national disasters for which he was held answerable as ostensible head of the administration, whether he was the real cause of them or not. No one enemy or rival can be fairly called the prime mover of his fall, and Shaftesbury was merely one of several who prepared the way for it, and exulted in it, as the removal of a formidable obstruction from his path. It is also true that, of the five members of the famous Cabal, two only, Clifford and Arlington, were privy to the secret treaty of Dover : that, unscrupulous as Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale were, the royal pledge to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion was studiously withheld from them. But one

* Lord Campbell’s version is, ‘the most profligate man in my dominions.’ The story is told by Lord Chesterfield not (as Mr. Christie states) with the words ‘the greatest rogue in England,’ but with an expression which modern manners have proscribed. (‘Chesterfield’s Letters,’ Lord Mahon’s (Stanhope’s) edition, vol. ii. 334.) Lord Chesterfield introduces the story by stating that Shaftesbury, when Lord Chancellor, kept a mistress, whom he never visited, for conformity’s sake. This circumstance is alluded to in the Preface to ‘Venice Preserved :’ Antonio being intended for Shaftesbury.

of their worst acts was the shutting up of the Exchequer ; and, as Shaftesbury was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, was an assenting party to the measure, and defended it in his place in Parliament, it matters little, so far as his reputation for public principle or honesty is concerned, whether he originated it or not. To say that Clifford originated it, that Clifford was Lord Treasurer, and that he (Shaftesbury) protested against it as both impolitic and unjust, rather aggravates than mitigates his complicity. Besides why, directly afterwards, was the Lord Treasurer's staff pressed upon him ?—why was he made Lord Chancellor and an Earl ? Mr. Christie is fain to admit that these dignities were crowning signs of a greatness which had been growing since Shaftesbury was taken into the King's councils to support a French alliance against Holland. 'The public did not know, as *Shaftesbury did not know himself*, that the king was making use of his energy, abilities, and influence for the furtherance of a design known only to some half-dozen in England, for re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion with the aid of French money and troops.' Shaftesbury's proverbial sagacity must have been unaccountably at fault, if he had not all along a shrewd suspicion of the truth ; and his subsequent conduct proves that he was ready to go as far as he could with safety to gain and retain power, foreseeing, to a nicety, where public endurance would give way.

His want of professional training was not considered a material objection to his acceptance of the Great Seal, for which Lord Orrery had been a favoured nominee no further back than on the dismissal of Clarendon in 1667. 'For my calling into this high office,' said Archbishop Williams, made Lord Keeper in 1621, 'it was as most here present cannot but know, not the cause, but the effect, of a resolution in the State to change or reduce the Governor of this Court from a professor of our municipal laws to some one of the nobility, gentry, or clergy of this kingdom.' The intervening period had been unsavourable to the formal administration of the law, and the highest court of equity was still, what its name and origin import, a tribunal in which sense and reason were comparatively untrammelled by technicalities, and a wide discretion might be exercised by the judge. The extent to which a man's conduct, bearing, or demeanour may be made the subject of what Bacon calls a pre-judge opinion, is shewn by the various interpretations put upon Shaftesbury's choice of an official dress. 'For he sat upon the bench in an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced, and full-ribboned pantaloons, displayed without any black at all in his garb, unless it were his hat, which, now I cannot say positively, though

though I saw him, was so.' This scrupulous witness, Roger North, thinks it a proof of his little regard to decency and *morality*, 'that he did not concern himself to use a decent habit, as became a judge of his station ;' adding that 'he appeared more like a University nobleman than a High Chancellor of England.' Lord Campbell misquotes this into a 'more like a rakish young nobleman at the University,' and says that, 'to show his contempt for all who had gone before him, as well as his contemporaries, he would not be habited like his predecessors.' Lord Chancellor Cowper explained Shaftesbury's coloured gown by the fact that he was not a barrister ; and Mr. Christie sees reason to believe that it was deliberately chosen by him on that account. Another so-called freak of his has proved an apple of discord to the biographers. It can hardly be described better than in the words of Roger North :

' His Lordship had an early fancy, or rather freak, the first day of term (when all the officers of the law, King's Counsel, and Judges, used to wait upon the Great Seal to Westminster Hall), to make this procession on horseback, as in old time the way was, when coaches were not so rife. And accordingly, the Judges, &c. were spoken to, to get horses, as they and all the rest did, by borrowing and hiring, and so equipped themselves with black foot-clothes in the best manner they could. And divers of the nobility, as usual in compliment and honour to the new Lord Chancellor, attended also in their equipments. Upon notice in town of this cavalcade, all the show company took their places at windows and balconies, with the foot-guard in the streets, to partake of the fine sight, and being once settled for the march, it moved, as the design was, stately along. But when they came to straights and interruptions, *for want of gravity in the beasts, and too much in the riders*, there happened some curveting, which made no little disorder. Judge Twisden, to his great affright, and the consternation of his grave brethren, was laid along in the dirt. But all at length arrived safe, without the loss of life or limb in the service. This accident was enough to divert the like frolic for the future, and the very next term after, they fell to their coaches, as before.'

Now for the comment or moral.—

' I do not mention this as any way evil in itself, but only as a levity and an ill-judged action, for so it appeared to be, in respect to the perpetual flux of solemn customs and forms, that will happen in the succession of ages, not reducible back to antiquity, nor needing so to be, which makes usages that are most fitting in one time, appear ridiculous in another. As here the setting grave men, used only to coaches, upon the menage on horseback, only for the vanity of show, to make men wonder, and children sport, with hazard to most, mischief to some, and terror to all, was very impertinent, and must end as it did, *en ridicule*.'

Lord

Lord Campbell insists that the object of the equestrian procession was to show off the horsemanship of the Lord Chancellor, an ex-colonel of cavalry, and spite some of the old judges who he had heard had been sneering at his decisions. 'Coaches had for many years become so common that the ancient custom of riding on horseback to open the Term had been laid aside, though they (the judges) still continued to ride the circuit on sober pads.' If this were so, one does not exactly see why they could not sit their sober pads on a slow procession to Westminster Hall. The tradition is that Mr. Justice Twisden came to grief from an encounter with a brewer's dray at Charing Cross, and, on being picked up, swore *in furore* that no Lord Chancellor should ever make him trust himself on a fourfooted animal again.* Moreover, Lord Campbell has antedated the general use of carriages. John Aubrey, writing of Dr. Harvey, some years later (1680), says: 'He rode on horseback, with a foot cloth, to visit his patients, his man following on foot, as the fashion then was, which was very decent, now quite discontinued. The judges rode also with these footcloths to Westminster Hall, which ended at the death of Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice. Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, would have revived it, but several of the Judges, being old and ill horsemen, would not agree to it.' Mr. Christie adds that Chief Justice Hyde died in May, 1663; so that the custom revived by Shaftesbury had not been disused for more than ten years.

Lord Campbell admits that Shaftesbury never took bribes, would not listen to private solicitations in favour of litigants, and never had more than one political case before him (the Injunction Case) in which he came eventually to a right conclusion. 'But, except being free from gross corruption, he was the worst judge that ever sate in the court. This was inevitable; for he might as well have tried to sustain a principal part in an opera without having learned the first rudiments of music.' That, like many of his predecessors and successors, he was deficient in technical knowledge, was no reason why he should be worse than the rest, than Hatton or Williams, for example, who knew nothing of the practice of the court when they came to it. Roger North says that after he (Shaftesbury) was possessed of the Great Seal,

* Dunning had reason to make a similar vow. When Solicitor-General, he accompanied Colonel Barré to Berlin in the days of Frederic the Great, who invited them to a review, and, misled by the official title of Dunning, sent two spirited chargers for the use of the General and Colonel. In an evil hour, Dunning (like Nicol Jarvie) clomb to the saddle, and, by the aid of the pommel, stuck to it till the firing began, when his steed, getting frisky, pitched him head over heels amongst the staff, not a little to their and their great king's amusement, which was enhanced by the discovery of the mistake.

he was in appearance ‘the gloriousest man’ alive. As for the Chancery, ‘he would teach the bar that a man of sense was above all their forms. . . . He swaggered and vapoured what asses he would make of all the council at the bar ; but the month of March, as they say, “In like a lion, and out like a lamb.”’ Their alleged mode of taming was this : ‘They soon found his humour, and let him have his caprice, and after, upon notice, induced him to discharge his orders, and thereupon, having the advantage, upon the opening, to be heard at large, they showed him his face, and that what he did was against common justice and sense. And this speculum of his own ignorance and presumption coming to be laid before him every motion-day, did so intricate and embarrass his understanding, that, in a short time, like any laggered hawk that is not let sleep, he was entirely reclaimed.’

The utter falsehood of this account may be demonstrated by undeniable facts. Shaftesbury received the Great Seal on the 17th November, 1672 ; he took his seat in the Court of Chancery on the 18th ; and the minutes in the Registrar’s office show that he never sate without assessors. He had the Master of the Rolls and Mr. Baron Windham with him the first day, and either the Master of the Rolls or a Common Law judge, and Masters in Chancery, every other day till the end of the Term. He might have sate alone had he thought fit. Did he invite these learned personages to sit with him to witness his mode of trampling upon their forms ?

‘It is remarkable (observes Hume) that this man whose principles and conduct were in all other respects so exceptionable, proved an excellent Chancellor, and that all his decrees, whilst he possessed that eminent office, were equally remarkable for justness and integrity.’ Quoting only the first half of this commendation, Lord Campbell adds, ‘and all the historians of the eighteenth century, reading Dryden or copying each other, write to the same effect.’ Such is the learned lord’s method of accounting for the unanimous acceptance by successive ages of the very worst chancellor as an excellent one. Dryden’s praise of Shaftesbury’s judicial character is imbedded in his bitterest satire.

‘Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge :
The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.
In Israel’s courts ne’er sat an Abbotchin
With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of despatch and easy of access.’

Lord Campbell objects that, had Dryden been sincere, his testimony

testimony ought not to have much weight, for he was probably never in a court of justice in his life; 'and though the first of English writers in polite literature, he could not have formed a very correct opinion as to the propriety of an order or decree in Equity.' This argument would disqualify any writer, not a practising lawyer, from ever embodying the public estimate of a judicial worthy—a Hardwicke, a Mansfield, an Eldon, or a Lyndhurst—in poetry or prose. But, it is urged, the panegyric was purchased. The lines did not appear in the first edition of the poem; they were added in the second, out of gratitude for a nomination to the Charter House given to the poet for his son in the intervening period by the Lord Chancellor. This story was first told by Dr. Kippis, who adds that 'when King Charles II. read these (the added) lines, he told Dryden that he had spoiled by them all which he had before said of Shaftesbury.' Examples of such alterations may be found in literary history. The first manuscript copy of 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' contained these two lines amongst others on rhyming lords:—

'On one alone, the muse still deigns to smile,
And hails a new Roscommon in Carlisle.'

Before the poem was published, the noble poet took offence at Lord Carlisle's real or supposed neglect and substituted the couplet:—

'No muse will cheer with renovating smile,
The paralytic puling of Carlisle.'

Poets are a susceptible as well as irritable race, and Dryden might have done from gratitude what Byron did from spite. He is known to have omitted in the reprints of the 'Spanish Friar' some passages which had given offence to the Duke of York. But he left the rest of his immortal diatribe against Achitophel without one softening epithet, and followed it up by a (if possible) still bitterer attack in 'The Medal.' The date of young Dryden's admission to the Charter House on the King's (not Shaftesbury's) nomination happens to be subsequent to the appearance of the corrected edition of the poem; and, all things considered, we incline to Sir Walter Scott's theory of the correction: namely, that there must be an appearance of candour on the part of the poet, and just so much merit allowed, even to the object of his censure, as to make his picture natural: that Dryden considered the portrait of Shaftesbury deficient in this respect, and added the laudatory lines with a view to effect. Besides, the recognition of Shaftesbury's judicial merit was not altogether

altogether an afterthought. The first edition of the poem contained these lines:—

‘ Oh ! had he been content to serve the crown
With virtuos only proper to the gown,
Or had the raukuess of the soil been freed
From cockle that oppressed the noble seed,
David for him his tuneful harp had strung
And Heaven had wanted one immortal song ! ’

With regard to Charles II.’s criticism, it must be remembered that, shortly before Shaftesbury broke with the Court, his Majesty asseverated, with his favourite oath, that his Lord Chancellor knew more law than all his judges, and more divinity than all his bishops. The royal praise may serve to counterbalance the royal censure ; but both were valueless. Shaftesbury had full credit for law and divinity only so long as he was ready to aid in superseding law by prerogative and divinity by papal infallibility.

At the opening of the first Session after he received the Great Seal, his devotion to the King’s wishes was exuberant and unrestrained. He attacked Holland, exclaiming ‘ *Delenda est Carthago* :’ he justified the shutting up of the Exchequer, and he sneered at the Triple Alliance. His speech was preceded by a scene which might well have ruffled his nerves, if it did not check the effusion of his loyalty. It had been settled at the Restoration that the King’s brothers should occupy seats on the left of the throne, the seat on the right being reserved for the Prince of Wales. Some years afterwards (as the incident is related by Martyn), ‘ upon the queen’s apparent barrenness, the Duke of York being looked on as the certain successor to the crown, and his power increasing at court, he took the chair on the right-hand of the throne. Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, the first day he sat as speaker, resolved to replace the Duke in his proper seat. He informed him that he was in the wrong chair, and that his place was on the other side of the throne, as only heir presumptive. The Duke being unwilling to quit his seat, Lord Shaftesbury told him that he could not proceed upon business till the house was in form. At length the Duke was obliged to submit, but said, in a passion, “ My lord, you are a rascal and a villain.” He, with great composure, immediately replied, “ I am much obliged to your royal highness for not calling me likewise a coward and a papist.” ’

Shaftesbury speedily repented of his speech on the opening of the Session, and apologised for it on the untenable ground that he spoke it as the mouthpiece of the Cabinet or Cabal. That he was not their mouthpiece was proved, within a few days,

days, by his speech in answer to Clifford, the Lord Treasurer, in a debate on the Declaration of Indulgence, or (according to Echard) 'a project for establishing a perpetual fund to free the King from his dependence on Parliament.' Before Shaftesbury had done speaking, the Duke of York whispered the King, who was standing at the fire, 'What a rogue you have for a Lord Chancellor.' The King replied, 'Cod-fish, what a fool have you for a Lord Treasurer.' Clifford, a bigoted Catholic, went heart and hand with the Duke: and one of Shaftesbury's objects in supporting the Test Act, including the declaration against Transubstantiation, was to displace, on the chance of replacing, the Lord Treasurer. On Clifford's resignation the coveted staff was given to Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby; and Shaftesbury saw that his power, instead of being on the increase, was on the wane. Although he did not at once break with the Court, he seems to have scented the Popish Plot and the great Exclusion battles from afar; for, affecting to think his life in danger from the Papists, he turned his house into a garrison all the summer; and, when Parliament met for the autumn Session of 1673, he stirred up a formidable opposition in the Commons to the projected marriage of the Duke with Mary of Modena. The cup of his transgressions was now full to overflowing, and the King shared the distrust of the Popish junto headed by the Duke. It was after supper at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, when the King had drunk freely, that they pressed him to dissolve Parliament. They so far succeeded that he sent the next morning for Shaftesbury, and, taking him into the closet, after some immaterial conversation, asked him if he had brought his robes, as the instant prorogation of Parliament had been resolved upon. Shaftesbury interpreted this resolution as involving his own dismissal, and ended a manly remonstrance with these words: 'But, sir, you may fancy what you please of the Romish religion, I shall leave this as a maxim with you: if you eat sage and butter in the morning, and govern well, it will make you more healthy and happy here, and bring you to heaven much sooner, than Popery or the exorcisms of its priests.'

The prorogation took place, and Shaftesbury was required to give up the Great Seal to the Attorney-General, Finch; the next morning but one, Sunday, November 9th, being fixed for the purpose. According to Martyn and Stringer, who are followed by Lord Campbell and doubted by Mr. Christie, as soon as he (Shaftesbury) arrived at Whitehall, he presently attended the King in the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph to see him return without the purse. Being alone with the King,

King, he said, “Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney-General, but I am sure your Majesty never designed to dismiss me with contempt.” The King, always good-humoured, replied, “Cods-fish, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumstance as may look like an affront.” “Then, sir,” said the Earl, “I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chapel, and send for them afterwards to my own house.” To this his Majesty readily assenting, Shaftesbury entertained him with conversation, purposely to tease the courtiers and his successor, who, he knew, were upon the rack for fear he should prevail upon the King to change his mind. ‘The King and the Chancellor came out of the closet talking together and smiling as they went to the chapel, which was so contrary to the expectations of those who were present, that some went immediately and told the Duke of York that all their measures were broken.’

After sermon, Shaftesbury carried the Great Seal home with him; and in the course of the afternoon his brother-in-law, Mr. Secretary Coventry, came for it, and is reported to have said: ‘My Lord, you are happy; you are out of danger, and all safe; but we shall all be ruined and undone; I desired to be excused from this office, but, being your relation and friend, they put it as an affront on me.’ Shaftesbury replied, with alacrity, ‘It is only laying down my gown and putting on my sword.’ Martyn adds, that he immediately sent for his sword—thus most prosaically converting a metaphorical form of expression into a fact.*

1700

It is clear, from one of Colbert’s letters, that an attempt was made to induce Shaftesbury to resume office, backed by a covert bribe of ten thousand guineas from France. ‘But now,’ to adopt the keen and quaint expressions of Roger North, ‘our noble Earl and mighty statesman having, as it seems, missed his aim at Court, takes over to the country party (as it was called) openly. And from thenceforward we find the party itself at work upon a new foot. There was no more depending on the King, as formerly, to make him destroy himself the shortest way, since he showed a dexterity to save himself at any time, by a short-turn, as if he had learnt the art of his great High Chancellor.’

The City was the principal scene of Shaftesbury’s machinations, and he announced an intention of taking a house there for fear of having his throat cut by the Papists if he ventured to sleep west of Temple Bar. The King, forgetting that he had not yet assimil-

* ‘Shaftesbury was ordered to deliver up the Great Seal, and instantly carried over his front of brass and tongue of poison to the ranks of the Opposition.’ (Macaulay.) Why tongue of poison? The expression is singularly inappropriate and unjust.

lated the English monarchy to the French, sent a message forbidding him, at his peril, to carry out the intention, and intimating that he would do well to go down to the country as soon as the weather would permit. Amongst other aggressive measures against the Court, he carried addresses for a public fast to implore the protection of the Almighty for the preservation of Church and State against Popish recusants, for the removal from office of all counsellors Popishly affected, and specifically for the dismissal of the Dukes of Lauderdale and Buckingham, his former colleagues in the Cabinet. This was in the spring session of 1674. In the spring session of 1675 he was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, who had quarrelled with Charles, and the worthy couple worked the 'No Popery' cry in concert. The Court party retaliated by the introduction of an Act, called 'Danby's Test Act,' requiring from all persons in office or Parliament a declaration in favour of passive obedience, with an oath 'never to endeavour the alteration of the government in Church or State.' This monstrous measure would have become law but for Shaftesbury's opposition. 'Heading a small party in the Lords, and with a decided majority against him in the Commons, by his skilful management he defected the Court, and saved the country.' Such is the enforced admission of Lord Campbell.

When the Government, hard pressed, proposed that the oath should be merely not to alter the Protestant religion, he asked, 'Where are the boundaries, or how much is meant by the Protestant religion?' Thereupon the Lord Keeper Finch exclaimed, 'Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Ascalon, that a Peer of so great parts and eminence as my noble and learned friend, a member of the Church of England, and the champion of the Reformation, should confess that he does not know what is meant by the Protestant religion!' This (says Stringer) was seconded with great pleasantness by divers of the Lords the Bishops. 'The Bishop of Winchester and some others of them were pleased to condescend to instruct that Lord that the Protestant religion was comprehended in thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechism, the Homilies, and the Canons.' Then Shaftesbury rose again, as if for the express purpose of justifying the remark of Charles, that he knew more divinity than all the Bishops put together; so learnedly did he expatiate on the fallibility of such tests and the difficulty of extracting a clear well-defined rule of faith from any of them. Standing near the Bishops' bench, he overheard one of them, jealous probably of his encroachments on their peculiar field, remark to another, 'I wonder when he will have done preaching.'

ing.' He immediately turned round, 'When I am made a Bishop, my Lord ;' and proceeded with his speech.

This was not the only occasion on which he came into conflict with the Bishops. Speaking on a question of privilege and defending the purity of the judicial decisions of the House of Lords in spite of notorious attempts to corrupt them, he said : ' Pray, my Lords, forgive me if, on this occasion, I put you in mind of committee dinners, and the scandal of it ; as also, those droves of ladies that attend all causes. It was come to that pass, that men hired, or borrowed of their friends, handsome sisters or handsome daughters to deliver their petitions ; but yet, for all this, I must say that your judgments have been sacred, unless in one or two causes, *and those we are most to that Bench from whence we now apprehend the most danger.*' *

Like O'Connell, Shaftesbury was vain of and renowned for his skill in defying authority without infringing the letter of the law, and, like O'Connell, he got caught by trusting too much to his dexterity. On the meeting of Parliament, which had been prorogued for a year and three months, in February, 1677, he and his party contended that so prolonged a prorogation was tantamount to a dissolution, and that there was no lawful Parliament in existence. Their arguments were treated as an insult and contempt, and after a debate of five hours the House of Lords resolved that Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton should retract and apologise, or be committed to the Tower. They were committed ; and Shaftesbury, refusing to concur with the other three who made the required submission after a few months, remained a full twelvemonth in the Tower, namely, till February, 1678, when, after aggravating his offence by applying for a *Habeas Corpus*, he obtained his liberty by the mortifying ceremony of begging pardon of the House of Lords and the King (Lord Campbell says) on his knees. Lowered and humiliated as he must have been by this episode, it is clear, from a document printed by Mr. Christie, that it was the Duke of York who made overtures to him, not he who made overtures to the Duke, in 1675 ; and, before Parliament met in the October of that year, he was himself again : the Popish plot had given him the golden opportunity he panted for :

* During the debate upon the same question in the House of Commons, some ladies were in the gallery peeping over the gentlemen's shoulders. The Speaker spying them called out, 'What borough do those ladies serve for ?' To which Mr. William Coventry replied, 'They serve for the Speaker's chamber.' Sir Thomas Littleton suggested that the Speaker should suppose they were gentlemen with fine sleeves dressed like ladies. 'Yes ; but I am sure I saw petticoats,' rejoined the Speaker.—*Grey.*

'Now manifest of crimes contrived long since
He stood at bold defiance with his Prince,
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the crown, and skulked behind the laws.
The wished occasion of the Plot he takes ;
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes ;
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.'

If Shaftesbury did nothing worse than prove the king himself a Jebusite (a Roman Catholic), which he notoriously was, the plot would have left no stain on his memory. But although neither its inventor nor the suborner of Oates, he certainly lent his sanction to its absurdities ; nor is it wholly without warrant that Lord Campbell accuses him of suggesting to the Londoners to prepare for the defence of the city as if a foreign enemy were at their gates, and prompting Sir Thomas Player, the Chamberlain, with the noted saying that, 'were it not for these precautions, all the Protestant citizens might rise next morning with their throats cut.'* There was also real danger from the secret compact with Louis :—

'Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies
To please the fools and puzzle all the wise :
Succeeding times did equal folly call
Believing nothing or believing all.'

The manner in which Macaulay endeavours to clear Russell and Sidney is characteristic of the great champion of the Whigs. 'The leaders of the country party encouraged the prevailing delusion. The most respectable among them, indeed, were themselves so far deluded as to believe the greater part of the evidence of the plot to be true. Such men as Shaftesbury and Buckingham doubtless perceived that the whole was a romance. But it was a romance that served their turn ; and to their scared consciences, the death of an innocent man gave no more uneasiness than the death of a partridge.' The mere death of an innocent man brought about by this romance was not enough for the most respectable of the respectables, Lord Russell, who denied the king's power to remit the hanging and quartering ; and thus, when the tables were turned, was met by the vindictive and terrible retort of Charles 'My lord Russell shall find that

* This was rivalled or outdone by Sir Boyle Roche in the Irish House of Commons, when he said that, if the Irish rebels of 1798 had their way, a guillotine would be set up in College-green, and 'our heads will be thrown upon that table to stare us in the face.'

I am possessed of that prerogative which, in the case of Lord Strafford, he thought fit to deny me.'

If faction had seared Shaftesbury's conscience, there are no signs at any time of its having hardened his heart: an impulsive is seldom a cruel nature; and his aims were uniformly high. The two most important measures of the period were his handiwork—the Roman Catholic Disqualification Act, repealed in 1829; and the Habeas Corpus Act, which the soundest political thinkers at home and abroad still look upon as the keystone of British liberty.* Results are frequently in an inverse ratio to efforts and displays. The permanent traces of the fiercest faction fight recorded in the annals of party, must be sought rather in our political vocabulary than in the Statute Book. The year 1680, says Hume, is remarkable for being the epoch of the well known epithets of 'Whig' and 'Tory'; 'and in that same year,' adds Macaulay, 'our tongue was enriched with two words, "Mob" and "Sham," remarkable memorials of a season of tumult and imposture.' The great 'Exclusion' battle led to no legislative action, and little remains of the decisive debate in the Lords beyond a dim and confused image or tradition of a fierce and sustained conflict, in which Shaftesbury and Halifax figure as leaders of the opposing hosts, not unequally matched in weapons, cunning of fence or strategy. The victory rested with Halifax. 'He was animated as well by the greatness of the occasion as by a rivalship to his uncle Shaftesbury: whom, during that day's debate, he seemed, in the judgment of all, to have totally eclipsed. The king was present during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night.'† This was on the 15th November, 1680. In a letter, first brought to light by Mr. Christie, Barillon describes a scene on the 20th, from which it appears that Shaftesbury was by no means dispirited by his defeat. The subject was a Bill brought in by him to dissolve the king's marriage with Catherine of Portugal, on the ground of her barrenness:

'One of the peers represented that the remedy of divorce was very uncertain, it not being sure that the King would have children by another wife. Upon this Lord Shaftesbury rose, and, pointing to the King, who is almost always by the fireplace, said: "Can it be doubted from the King's mien that he is in a condition to have

* Barnet's strange story, that the Habeas Corpus Act was practically carried in the Lords by the counting of a very fat peer for ten, is partially confirmed by Mr. Christie, who has ascertained, from a manuscript Journal of the Lords, that the recorded number of votes on the decisive division exceeded by five the total number actually present on that day.

† Hume. Both Halifax and Sunderland were nephews-in-law of Shaftesbury. Sunderland acted with him on this occasion.

children? He is not more than fifty. I know people who are more than sixty, and do not despair of progeny." All the House burst out laughing, and the King laughed with the rest.

'Lord Clarendon gave occasion for another great ridicule, saying—to contest what had been alleged of the barrenness of the Queen—that he knew her to be like other women; that she had been *enceinte*, and given premature birth to a child bigger than a rabbit. The King remarked, laughingly, to those near, "I am not overpleased to find Lord Clarendon so well informed of everything relating to my wife."

'The Bishop of Rochester said that a marriage with a barren woman was null by all laws; and that if a man bought a horse for his breeding-stud, and a mule were given him instead, he was not bound to pay the price.'

Want of space prevents us from reverting to Shaftesbury's brief Presidency of the Council formed by the advice of Temple. The rejection of the Exclusion Bill was the crisis or turning-point of his fortunes—*ex illo retro fluere et sublapsa referri*: the tide of his popularity was so evidently on the ebb that the court took the strong step of arresting him on a charge of high treason and committing him to the Tower. On his arrival there, one of the Popish lords, whom he had been instrumental in incarcerating, affecting surprise at finding him among them, he coolly observed that he had been lately ill with an ague, and was come to take some *Jesuits' powder*. The finding of an indictment was an indispensable step, and the London Grand Jury, summoned by friendly sheriffs, threw out the bill. When the word *Ignoramus* was read aloud by the officer, a prolonged shout arose in and about the Court, and before it had well died away the whole city was in a blaze with bonfires and illuminations. The bearer of the good news to the prisoner found him playing a game of piquet, which he calmly continued, with his Countess—a got up scene, his maligners suggest, like that of Richard III. with the bishops and the Prayer-Book on receiving the offer of the Crown. When the unusual clamour was explained to Charles, he quietly remarked, 'It is a hard case that I am the last man to have law and justice in the whole nation.' It was all the harder, because the Court party, aided by venal lawyers and a corrupt press, had done their best to poison law and justice at their source. The pamphleteer, the preacher, and the poet strove emulously to prejudice the public from whence the jurors were to be taken: the bad pre-eminence was won by the highest genius, and the pride and pleasure with which we read one of the finest poems in our tongue are dashed by reflecting on the nature of its inspiration and its aim. 'Absalom and Achitophel' was published on the 17th November, 1681, just one week before the bill of indictment was preferred

at the Old Bailey ; and if not (like 'The Medal') planned and paid for by the King, it was undeniably composed to curry favour with the Court.*

Macaulay thinks that the reader will at once perceive a considerable difference between Butler's

‘ Politician
With more heads than a beast in vision.’

and the Achitophel of Dryden ; and he contrasts the lines in which Butler dwells on Shaftesbury's skill in anticipating changes and providing for his own safety with the lines in which Dryden gives prominence to 'his violent passion, implacable revenge, and boldness amounting to temerity :—

‘ A daring pilot in extremity
Pleased with the danger when the waves went high,
He sought the storms ; but, for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.’

‘ The dates of the two poems will,’ he suggests, ‘ explain this discrepancy : the third part of “ Hudibras ” having appeared in 1678, when the character of Shaftesbury had as yet been imperfectly developed.’ Whatever the difference in the mode of treatment, there is no discrepancy. The lines immediately preceding those which Macaulay quotes from ‘ Hudibras ’ run thus :—

‘ So little did he understand
The desp'rate feats he took in hand,
For when h'had got himself a name
For fraud and tricks, he spoil'd his game.
Had forced his neck into a noose
To show his play at Fast and Loose,
And when he chanc'd t'escape, mistook
For art and subtlety, his luck.’

Both poets proved right in this their common estimate of his over-daring confidence. Irretrievably committed agains: the Court, he saw no hope of safety except in a change of government to be brought about by an insurrectionary movement, which should prevent the Duke's succession to the throne. He boasted of having ten thousand 'brisk boys' in the City ready to rise at his command, was loud in his reproaches of the Whig leaders for their lukewarmness, and was actually at hide-and-

* In the Memoir prefixed to the Globe edition of the 'Poetical Works of John Dryden,' and in the Biographical Introduction to his edition of 'Select Poems of Dryden,' printed at the Clarendon Press, Mr. Christie states that the subject of the poem of 'Absalom and Achitophel' is said to have been suggested by the King himself. More than a hundred corrections of the text, with many valuable notes, have been supplied by Mr. Christie in these editions.

seek, to avoid being arrested, when he was informed by a friend, Lord Mordaunt, of a conference in the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth, of which he was suspected to be the subject. 'My Lord,' were his reported words, 'you are a young man of honour, and would not deceive me; if this has happened, I must be gone to-night.' He started immediately, in the dress of a Presbyterian minister, for Harwich, where he was detained eight or ten days by contrary winds. He got off at last in an open boat, and, after a perilous voyage, reached the coast of Holland and repaired to Amsterdam. He presented himself amongst his old enemies, the Dutch, like Coriolanus amongst the Volscians. To place him under the *egis* of their laws, it was necessary that he should be made free of the City, and his freedom was conferred in a form which, by a touch of sarcasm, places the generosity of the Corporation in broad relief:—'Carthago non adhuc deleta Comitem de Shaftesbury in gremio suo recipere vult.' They also hung up his portrait in their hall, and (according to Lord Campbell), with a view of reciprocating their hospitality, he took a large house, set up a handsome establishment, and began a series of entertainments, when he had an attack of gout in the stomach which proved fatal. He died on the 21st January, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age. Their High Mightinesses of the States honoured his memory by going into mourning and other tokens of respect. His body was conveyed across the Channel in a vessel hung with black and adorned with streamers and escutcheons. It was met at Poole, in Dorsetshire, by the principal gentlemen of the county, forming a guard of honour for the funeral, which took place at Wimborne St. Giles.

Gray asks in his 'Elegy,'—

'Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death?'

Urns and busts, honour and flattery, can do none of these things; but spontaneous, impulsive, and disinterested tributes to the dead may repair injustice to the living, may soften if not repel calumny, may recall good qualities to be set against bad, and so assist the impartial judgment of posterity. We cannot believe that Shaftesbury would have been so received as an exile, or so honoured at his death, if (as Macaulay states) 'his life was such that every part of it, as if by a skilful contrivance, reflects infamy on the other; that 'his advocates had better leave him where they find him; that 'for him there is no escape upwards;'

upwards ;' that ' every outlet by which he can creep out of his present position is one which lets him down into a still lower and fouler depth of infamy.' Neither is it probable that, if such bitter words could be justly applied to him, he would have acquired the warm friendship and esteem of Locke, who lived in confidential intimacy with him from the commencement of their acquaintance in 1666 till his death, and left a memoir of him full of glowing praise.

The marked readiness of those who lived most with him to condone his errors, is in a great measure explicable by the fact that his personal merit was great, his private honour without a stain, his disposition kindly and generous ; and that he lived in times when public virtue had fallen into such desuetude that the want of it was hardly considered a reproach. Whatever we know (and we know a great deal) of his domestic life is to his credit ; and his family evidently regarded his affectation of royal morals as a matter of policy, betokening no profligacy at heart. It is on record that, when most anxious to confirm his interest at court, he refused to sanction grants of public money to the king's mistresses ; he disdained the French money which patriots, like Algernon Sydney, pocketed without reserve ; and he added nothing to his patrimony from the eleven years' tenure of an office (the Chancellorship of the Exchequer) in and by which one of Macaulay's pet statesmen, Montagu, became fabulously rich in four. His integrity, therefore, is not so much his weak point as his inconsistency,—rendered prominent and glaring by the fire and energy he threw into every part he played and every enterprise he undertook. His was pre-eminently the ' vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself, and falls on the other.' His changes from camp to camp were not worse than those of most of his contemporaries, but they were more noted, from the circumstance that his banner was always flaming in the van. It was in the common course of things that, having broken with the Cabal for going too far in favour of popery and arbitrary power, he should make ' No Popery !' and ' Liberty !' his war-cries in the ensuing warfare, which he waged fiercely, but not ungenerously. But his love of power was grasping and unscrupulous. It was like the Scotchman's love of money—*quocunque modo rem.* He would have power at all hazards, by any means, at any cost of principle. He would wheedle it from the populace, if he could not extort it from the Crown—

‘ *Flectere si nequos superos, Acheronta movebo.*’

But (we agree with Mr. Christie) he may have been headstrong, impatient, volatile : he was not mercenary, he was not (in the narrow

narrow way) self-seeking ; and no imputation, or even suspicion, lies on him, in any part of his career, of treachery or falsehood. He betrayed no counsel or confidence ; and there was nothing cruel or vindictive in his aggressive measures, which were strictly measures of self-defence. When he moved the Exclusion Bill, he crossed the Rubicon : the die was cast : he thenceforth carried his life and fortune in his hand.

The difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion touching Shaftesbury is finely and forcibly expressed by Lord Lytton in 'St. Stephen's' : —

' Wild as the shapes invoked by magic spell,
Dire and grotesque, behold Achitophel !
Dark convict, seared by History's branding curse,
And hung in chains from Dryden's lofty verse.
Yet who has pierced the labyrinth of that brain ?
Who plumbed that genius, both so vast and vain ?
What moved its depths ? Ambition ? Passion ? Whim ?
This day a Strafford, and the next a Pym.
Is it, in truth, as Dryden hath implied ?
Was his "great wit to madness near allied ?"
Accept that guess, and it explains the man :
Reject, — and solve the riddle if you can.'

We reject this guess or theory at the risk of leaving the riddle unsolved. There was no sign, trace, or token of madness in Shaftesbury at any time. His wildest projects, his most daring courses were premeditated. In the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of his ambition, he never lost his habit of self-examination or his self-command. His mind resembled the rocking-stone in the stability with which, after being moved or shaken, it settled upon its base.

' How often,' exclaims Lord Stanhope, in reference to the calumnies levelled at Marlborough and Somers, ' have such malignant falsehoods damped the brightest energies and discouraged the most active patriotism. They have quelled spirits which had not shrunk before embattled armies, which had confronted the terrors of a parliamentary impeachment, the Tower, and the block ! ' Adopting this reflection, Mr. Christie remarks that Shaftesbury ' bore with heroic calmness and Christian temper the gibes, accusations, and persecutions showered upon him.' We should not like to answer for his Christianity so far as it depended upon faith ; but that he possessed the Christian quality of charity in perfection is attested by the widowed Lady Russell, who said that she had never seen any one more free from gall or bitterness against foes.

In conversation with Locke, he broached two theories of character and conduct which throw light upon his own :

' He

‘He was wont to say that wisdom lay in the heart, and not in the head, and that it was not the want of knowledge but the perverseness of will that filled men’s actions with folly, and their lives with disorder.

‘That thero were, in every one, two men, the wise and the foolish, and that each of them must be allowed his turn. If you would have the wise, the grave, and the serious, always to rule and have the sway, the fool would grow so peevish and troublesome, that he would put the wise man out of order, and make him fit for nothing: he must have his times of being let loose to follow his fancies, and play his gambols, if you would have your business go on smoothly.’

‘I have heard him also say (continues Locke) that he desired no more of any man but that he would talk: if he would talk, said he, let him talk as he pleases. And, indeed, I never knew any one penetrate so quickly into men’s breasts, and, from a small opening, survey that dark cabinet, as he would. He would understand men’s true errand as soon as they had opened their mouths and begun their story, in appearance to another purpose.’ One instance has been given, and Locke relates another. Shaftesbury and Sir Richard Onslow dined by invitation with Sir John Denham, an elderly widower, who before dinner told them that he wished to take their advice upon a subject of deep import to his happiness, namely, whether he should or should not marry his housekeeper, for whom he had long entertained affection and esteem. Sir Richard Onslow was beginning a strong protest, when, looking their host steadily in the face, Shaftesbury asked, ‘Are you not married to her already?’ and he confessed that he was. ‘Well, then,’ said Shaftesbury, ‘there is nothing left but to send for her to join us at dinner.’ On their leaving the house, Sir Richard Onslow asked what put him on the scent. ‘The man and the manner,’ he replied, ‘gave me a suspicion that, having done a foolish thing, he was desirous to cover himself with the authority of our advice. I thought it good to be sure before you went any farther, and you see what came of it.’

His ready wit and humour were inexhaustible. Speaker Onslow relates that Shaftesbury was one day conversing with a friend with a lady in the room. Unconscious of her presence, he observed aloud: ‘Men of sense are all of one religion.’ ‘And what religion is that?’ she broke in. The Earl, turning round and bowing, replied, ‘*That*, Madam, men of sense never tell.’

When (1680) he was living at Thanet House, Aldersgate Street, a country clergyman inquired for ‘my lord,’ and, being introduced, fell upon his knees before Lord Shaftesbury (who was in a grey silk dressing-gown), and said, ‘My Lord, I humbly ask your blessing.’ The Earl held his hand over him and said, ‘I give

give you my blessing as Earl of Shaftesbury, which perhaps may do you as much good as my Lord of London's; *but he lives over the way.*' The clergyman started to his feet and ran out of the house as if pursued by the Evil One, with whom Shaftesbury was then commonly identified by the Church.

Lord Campbell says that 'as to his literary merit he was infinitely inferior to Bolingbroke,' which he was; and Lord Macaulay says that 'nothing that remains from the pen of Shaftesbury will bear a comparison with the political tracts of Halifax.' Does anything remain of Halifax that will bear a comparison in its way with Shaftesbury's sketch of Mr. Hastings? But it is not as an author or man of letters that Shaftesbury must be judged, but as a man of thought and action, a politician, an orator, a statesman, a master mind made up of many varying gifts and qualities, a 'great faulty human being' in whom the faults are indissolubly blended with the greatness.

It was to Shaftesbury's only surviving son that Dryden alluded in the lines:

'And all to leave what with his toil he won
To that unfeather'd two-legged thing, a son,
Got, while his soul did huddled notions try,
And born a shapeless lump, like anarchy.'

This son was a very handsome man, and these lines were supposed to point to his inferiority of understanding. They were more resented by *his* son, the third Earl, author of the 'Characteristics,' than any other portion of the satire. After the third Earl, occurs a long interval, during which no lineal descendant rose to celebrity. But let not those who maintain the hereditary quality of genius or character, despair; for in this instance we are reminded of the river which, after running many miles underground, emerges clearer, purer, and less turbid than at its source. After a noiseless descent of nearly two centuries, the name and honours of the Earls of Shaftesbury have devolved upon one who inherits all the domestic virtues, with much of the capacity, intellectual vigour, high courage, and eager animated eloquence of their founder—one in whom ambition is chastened by the pure aims which make ambition virtue—who has uniformly employed his advantages of rank, wealth, and station to alleviate human misery, to improve the moral and material condition of the poor—who stands pre-eminent amongst British nobles for elevated, disinterested, untiring benevolence and philanthropy.

ART. II.—*The Handwriting of Junius Professionally Investigated.* By Mr. Charles Chabot, Expert. *With Preface and Collateral Evidence.* By the Hon. Edward Twisleton. London. 4to. 1871.

THE Work, the title of which is placed at the head of the present article, possesses a value quite independent of the immediate question which it discusses. Its direct object is to prove by a minute and exhaustive examination of the Junian manuscripts and of the letters of Sir Philip Francis, that both of them were handwritten by the same person; but indirectly it supplies most valuable information and rules for guidance to those engaged in the investigation of subjects in which a comparison of handwriting is more or less involved. It owes its origin, to a great extent, to accidental circumstances, which have such an important bearing upon the investigation before us, that it is necessary to set them forth fully:—

‘In the Christmas season of 1770, or 1771,’ says Mr. Twisleton, ‘when Mr. Francis was on a visit to his father at Bath, he danced at the Assembly Rooms more than one evening with a young lady named Miss Giles. This lady, born in 1751, was daughter of Daniel Giles, Esq., afterwards Governor of the Bank of England; and in January, 1772, she became Mrs. King by marrying Joseph King, Esq., of Taplow. It was the custom at balls a hundred years ago for a lady to retain the same partner during the whole of the evening; so that the fact of Miss Giles having thus danced with Mr. Francis would imply more of an acquaintance than would necessarily be involved in a young lady’s dancing with a gentleman at the present day. Subsequently, she received an Anonymous Note, enclosing Anonymous complimentary Verses, both of which she believed to have been sent to her by him.

‘The note was in the following words:—

‘The inclosed paper of Verses was found this morning by Accident. The person who found them, not knowing to whom they belong, is obliged to trust to his own Judgment, and takes for granted that they could only be meant for Miss Giles.’

‘The Verses were as follows:—

1.

‘When nature has, happily, finished her Part,
There is Work enough left for the Graces;
’Tis harder to keep than to conquer the Heart;
We admire and forget pretty Faces.

2.

In the School of the Graces, by Venus attended,
Belinda improves ev’ry Hour;
They tell her that Beauty itself may be mended,
And show her the use of her Pow’r.

They

3.

They alone have instructed the fortunate Maid
In Motion, in Speech, and Address;
They gave her that wonderful Smile to persuade,
And the Language of Looks to express.

4.

They directed her Eye, they pointed the Dart,
And have taught her a dangerous Skill;
For whether she aims at the Head or the Heart,
She can wound if she pleases, or kill.

‘The Verses and the Note are each written on a separate sheet of common letter paper, and the handwriting of the two is different. The reason of this is obvious. The humour of the compliment required such a difference. The two documents, though wholly unconnected with St. Valentine’s Day, must be regarded in the light of a valentino; the essential idea of which is, that whereas certain Verses in praise of a young lady had been found by accident, Miss Giles alone merited such praise, and the Verses were therefore sent to her as to the person for whom they were intended. Hence, it would have been out of keeping with the plan of the valentino if the Verses and the Note had been in the same handwriting.’

We need not for our present purpose relate how the existence of the two documents came to the knowledge of Mr. Twisleton, and how he has been enabled to make public use of them. That the two documents were really sent by Francis to Miss Giles no one can entertain any reasonable doubt after perusing Mr. Twisleton’s narrative, and one circumstance, which we shall presently lay before our readers, places the fact beyond question.

The connexion of these two documents with the investigation into the handwriting of Junius arises thus. The Anonymous Note is in the handwriting of Junius. This will be at once evident, we think, to any one who compares the facsimile of the Note with the facsimiles of the Junian Manuscripts, and is placed beyond all question by the Report of Mr. Netherclift, printed in the volume before us, in which he proves, by detailed reasonings, that the two must have been handwritten by the same person. As the Ar. ~~ious~~ Note was in the handwriting of Junius, and as Francis had evidently sent it, it was taken for granted as a natural consequence that the Anonymous Verses were in the natural handwriting of Francis. This was at first the opinion of Mr. Twisleton himself and of many other literary and legal gentlemen to whom he showed the verses, and it was confirmed by the external evidence and the tradition among the descendants of Mrs. King. But now comes the most interesting

resting part of the story. Mr. Twisleton, whose caution and love of truth are most strikingly exhibited in every point of the investigation, would not finally adopt this conclusion till it had been verified by a professional expert. He accordingly applied to Mr. Netherclift, who had previously examined the handwriting of the Anonymous Note, as we have already said; but finding that this gentleman, in consequence of a serious illness, could not undertake the investigation, he placed the case in the hands of Mr. Chabot, another professional expert. Mr. Chabot, however, after comparing the Verses with the Letters of Francis, pronounced an opinion directly contrary to what was expected. He maintained not only that he should not be justified in stating that the Verses were in the handwriting of Francis, but he thought that he could prove the negative, viz., that Francis had not, and could not have, handwritten the Verses; and in corroboration of this opinion he pointed out numerous peculiarities in the Verses which were not in the Letters, and numerous peculiarities in the Letters which were not in the Verses.

And here we may remark, in passing, that the conduct of Mr. Chabot on this occasion should be borne in mind by those who are in the habit of indulging in insinuations against experts.* Mr. Chabot, in giving this opinion, shewed his independence by opposing the views of the person by whom he was professionally employed. In fact, the case which he had been called in to support seemed to have broken down in consequence of his evidence. Mr. Twisleton at once acquiesced in the professional opinion of Mr. Chabot; but recollecting from the recently published 'Life of Francis' that his cousin and familiar friend, Mr. Richard Tilghman, was with Francis at Bath when the Verses were sent to Miss Giles, it struck Mr. Twisleton that Francis might possibly have availed himself of the services of Tilghman as an amanuensis. Fortunately, in the Letter Book of Francis, which was in Mr. Twisleton's possession, there were six Letters written

* The following observations of Mr. Twisleton on the subject of 'experts' deserve to be remembered in the present investigation. - 'The word "expert" is often used very loosely. It is frequently used to designate lithographers, or gentlemen connected with banks, who come forward as witnesses once or twice in their lives to express their belief that a particular document was or was not written by a certain individual. The word has, then, a meaning very different from that of general experts in handwriting, recognised as such in courts of justice, like Mr. Chabot and Mr. Netherclift, to whom cases of disputed writing are systematically submitted from time to time for their professional opinion, and who are prepared to state detailed reasons for every such opinion which they give. Having taken some pains to ascertain this point, I have been assured that during the last fifty years the number of such experts in London has been very few, and that there are only two such experts in London practice now. Hence, tales about experts should be received with distrust, unless names and particulars are mentioned, so that it may be ascertained in what sense the word "expert" is used.'

to Francis by Tilghman. These were now submitted, together with the Verses, to Mr. Chabot, who expressed his unhesitating conviction that the Verses were in the handwriting of Tilghman, and embodied his opinion in one of the Reports here printed. It would seem that Francis, with his usual caution, was unwilling to bring his own handwriting into any connection with that of Junius, and accordingly wrote the Note himself in the Junian hand, employing his friend Tilghman to copy the Verses, who probably never saw the Note.

We have already referred our readers to Mr. Twisleton's narrative for the proof of the essential point that the Note and the Verses came from Francis; but we will now mention the circumstance to which we alluded, and which proves uncontestedly that Tilghman was acquainted with the Verses. In 1772 Francis, who was in Italy, wrote a letter to Dr. John Campbell, a leading *littérateur* of the day. He was evidently proud of this letter, and attached so much importance to it, that he sent a copy of it to his friend Tilghman, who had returned to Philadelphia in America, of which place he was a native. The letter contains the following Latin Epigram, which Francis wrote upon a marble lion in the Medici Palace:—

‘Ungue oculoque minax, orisquo horrendus hiatu,
Imperia in sylvis tristia solus habet.
Hunc catuli fugiunt, conjux, fulvique parentes,
Vix dominii gressus auscrit umbra sequi.’

Tilghman fully appreciated Francis's letter to Dr. Campbell, but, in regard to the epigram, he indulged in the following criticism in his reply: ‘I have no objection to the epigram of the old lion, provided you will change the word conception for translation, or imitation:—

“He roared so loud and looked so wondrous grim,
His very shadow durst not follow him”—*Vide Pope nept. Baethos.*

I have written this, partly out of revenge, and partly to show my reading and knowledge of languages.’ This criticism would be naturally unpalatable to Francis, who, accordingly, in a Letter, which has not been preserved, seems to have waged battle for the originality of his epigram. Tilghman replied in the following letter, which ends with the quotation of the two first lines of the second stanza of the Verses:—

‘**MY DEAR FRANCIS,**

‘I have receiv'd your packot of the 17th of July. You are very tenacious of your epigram. I observe you contend for it as if your reputation as a poet depended on it. I did not condemn the composition—

composition—I only said it was not an original, and I say so still; but yet I am ready to allow you can weave originals, because

“ In the School of the Graces, by Venus attended,
Belinda improves ev’ry hour.”

Upon this Mr. Twisleton remarks:—

‘ Now, on an attentive consideration of this paragraph, it seems clear that Tilghman himself cannot be regarded as the author of the two lines, inasmuch as, in that case, the quotation of them would be wanting in point, and be nearly irrelevant. The subject under discussion is a poetical composition of Francis, and Tilghman, while he stoutly denies the originality of that particular composition, declares himself ready to allow that Francis can weave originals, and then quotes the two lines of the Verses. This quotation would be singularly inappropriate if Tilghman was merely quoting two lines of his own composition; while it was apposite, and might have been soothing to Francis after the assault on his epigram, if it alluded to Francis’s Verses. The latter, therefore, may safely be adopted as the correct explanation of the passage; and the meaning of it is very much the same as if Tilghman had written, “ I deny that the conception of your epigram was original, but I do not deny that you can weave originals, for your power to do this has been proved by your verses on Belinda.” At the same time, he probably quoted these two particular lines from a catch of fancy in a play of words; to say that, as Belinda, in the School of the Graces, “ improv’d ev’ry hour,” so Francis improved what he borrowed, and thus made his compositions originals.’

The circumstances we have narrated above having enabled Mr. Twisleton to test the sagacity and independence of Mr. Chabot, it occurred to him as probable that, if sufficient materials were placed at Mr. Chabot’s disposal, he would be able to give a sound opinion on the much more important question whether Sir Philip Francis did, or did not, handwrite the Letters of Junius. In regard to Francis, Mr. Twisleton procured, from a grand-daughter of Sir Philip Francis, through Mr. Merivale, one of the two authors of the ‘Life of Francis,’ a Letter-Book containing forty-two original Letters written and sent by Francis to his brother-in-law or to his wife in the years from 1767 to 1771 inclusive. And in regard to Junius, not only had the Trustees of the British Museum recently purchased all the original Letters and writings of Junius in the possession of Mrs. Parkes, which had belonged first to Mr. Henry Dick Woodsall, and afterwards to her late husband, Mr. Parkes, but Mr. Murray readily gave access to the original Manuscripts of the Letters of Junius to Mr. Grenville which were in his possession. Under these circumstances Mr. Twisleton gave formal written instructions to Mr. Chabot ‘that he should submit the handwriting of Junius

Junius to a searching comparison with the Letters of Sir Philip Francis, and should state, professionally, his opinion in writing whether the Letters of Francis and of Junius respectively were, or were not, written by the same hand.'

Subsequently Mr. Twisleton requested Mr. Chabot to report whether the negative could, or could not, be proved respecting Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville, as well as the affirmative respecting Sir Philip Francis. This request was suggested to Mr. Twisleton by what had passed respecting the *Anonymous Verses*, when Mr. Chabot had negatived Francis's claim before Tilghman had been discovered as their handwriter; and it seemed to Mr. Twisleton interesting to ascertain whether there were, or were not, any habits or peculiarities of writing in Lady Temple, or Lord George Sackville, which appeared to Mr. Chabot incompatible, or not easily to be reconciled, with habits or peculiarities in the handwriting of Junius.

The result is contained in two elaborate Reports, occupying 197 quarto pages, one on the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, and the other on the handwritings of Lady Temple, Lord George Sackville, and others. These are followed by facsimiles, taken by photo-lithography, of the letters of Junius and of the proof-sheets of these letters, as well as by similar facsimiles of the letters of Sir Philip Francis and of the other persons to whom the authorship of the Junian Letters has been at various times ascribed. Thus we have an amount of evidence which has never previously been presented to the public; and, indeed, as far as Francis is concerned, all the facsimiles of his autographs which have been published in 'Junius Identified,' in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' and in the 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis,' do not, combined, quite equal in the number of words the first Letter of Francis contained in the volume before us.

There is one peculiar feature in these Reports to which Mr. Twisleton directs special attention:—

'As far as is known, they are the only instance in which an expert has deliberately published the result of his investigations into the handwriting of Junius and Francis; and most undoubtedly, they are the only instance in which any such expert has written professionally, and subscribed his name to his opinion. Still, although Mr. Chabot has written his Reports under professional responsibility, and they thus deserve to be read with more than ordinary attention, he is desirous—and I publish his Reports with the same desire—that his conclusions should in no respect be accepted on grounds of mere authority, but that they should be judged of entirely by the reasons which he advances in their behalf.'

In seeking to prove that two different handwritings have been made

made use of by the same person, it is important to observe the method pursued in the investigation. Most persons are content with a general comparison, without endeavouring to ascertain the principles which govern the handwriting, or the characteristic habits in the two handwritings under discussion. They thus form their judgment by the impression left upon their minds by general similarity, without that careful examination of the peculiar and distinctive formations of individual letters which characterise the writing. ‘The principles which underlie all proof by comparison of handwritings are very simple, and when distinctly enunciated, appear to be self-evident. To prove that two documents were written by the same hand, coincidences must be shown to exist in them which cannot be accidental. To prove that two documents were written by different hands, discrepancies must be pointed out in them which cannot be accounted for by accident or by disguise. These principles are easy to understand, but to exemplify them in observations is by no means always easy.’ It is the merit of these Reports that they give an analysis of the handwriting by examining separately the elements or letters of which it is composed. It would be impossible, however, to convey any adequate idea of the method pursued by Mr. Chabot in his investigation without entering into minute details; and even then they would be hardly intelligible without constant reference to the lithographed plates, which we have not the means of reproducing on our pages. But we can promise such of our readers as will take the trouble to study Mr. Chabot’s remarks and reasoning, with the help of the lithographed plates, a rich mine of instruction on a subject which had never yet been explained in any systematic treatise. We may first state in general the conclusions at which Mr. Chabot has arrived on the long-disputed controversy respecting the Junian handwriting.

‘I find generally,’ says Mr. Chabot, ‘in the writing of the Letters of Sir Philip Francis so much variety in the formation of all letters which admit of variety as to render his handwriting difficult to disguise in any ordinary manner, and consequently easy to identify. I discover also in the writing of the Letters and Manuscripts of Junius variations in the formation of certain letters, in some cases very multifarious, and of frequent occurrence, and that these variations closely correspond with those observed in the writing of Sir Philip Francis. They are, however, chiefly confined to the small letters in both handwritings; the habitual formation of capital letters being seldom departed from in any essential particular in either. I find also, in some instances, wherein Junius makes exaggerated formations of certain letters, exact counterparts of them are to be found in the writing of Sir Philip Francis, and in some cases as nearly as possible with the

same frequency. I further find in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis a repetition of all, or nearly all, the leading features and peculiar habits of writing, independent of the formations of letters, which so distinguish the Junian writing. These are so numerous, so varied, and in some cases so distinctive, that, when taken collectively, it is scarcely within the limits of possibility that they can be found in the handwriting of any two persons. I am, therefore, irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the Junian Manuscripts and the forty-four Letters of Francis have all been written by one and the same hand.'

It is obvious, upon a momentary glance, that the letters of Junius are written in a feigned hand:—

‘Upon examination, I find that the principal features of the disguise consist of the very common practice of altering the accustomed slope, and, in many cases, writing in a smaller hand, whilst that which is of more importance, viz. the radical forms of letters, is repeatedly neglected. It is difficult, whilst the mind is engaged on the subject-matter of the writing, to avoid occasionally, indeed frequently, falling into some of the habits of writing peculiar to the writer. The simple expedients of altering the usual slope and size of the writing may be maintained without difficulty, but it becomes very trying to attend to details at the same time. I have never met with a writer who could do so, and sustain a consistent and complete disguise throughout a piece of writing of moderate length.’

One of the most striking characteristics of the Junian handwriting is the fineness of the strokes. It had been often remarked that Junius must have written with an extremely fine pen. His handwriting is finer and smaller than that of Francis: and a finely made pen, as Mr. Chabot remarks, would be a necessary auxiliary to enable a person, like Francis, who habitually wrote in a bold hand, to reduce the size of his writing. Moreover, a bold handwriting would instinctively suggest the contrast of a fine and diminished style of writing for a feigned hand. It has been suggested to us by a friend that Junius may have maintained without effort the persistent fineness of his lines by using a crow-quill—a suggestion which seems to us very probable, though we do not remember to have seen it made before.

Mr. Chabot brings forward two distinct classes of evidence to identify the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis with that of Junius, one relating to the formation of letters, and to peculiarities connected therewith, and the other to habits of writing which do not necessarily depend on such formations and peculiarities. The former class cannot, as we have already

said, be made intelligible without reference to the plates; but certain specialities will be readily understood by the help of a few woodcuts.

First as to the general construction of the Junian handwriting:—

‘ Upon an attentive examination, it will be found that the slope of the Junian writing differs from that of Francis’s principally in the down-strokes of the letters; and that the slope of the up-strokes, which is very horizontally inclined, is as nearly as may be, the same in both. This will become clearly apparent upon an examination and comparison of the following facsimiles:—

FRANCIS. *me² the² proo² the²*
JUNIUS. *the² same² place²*

‘ Some writers make both the upper and lower turns of their letters angular; others give them considerable roundness; the results are two opposite styles of writing. When Francis wrote rapidly, his writing partook of both characteristics in an eminent degree. See the first seven lines of the 3rd page of his Letter, No. 38 (Plate 202), wherein the upper turns of the letters are extremely angular, and the lower turns are well rounded, in addition to which the latter are extremely wide. If he altered the down-strokes—by making them more upright, without making any corresponding alteration in the up-strokes of his writing, those three qualifications would necessarily be augmented and become more distinctly apparent. Be that as it may, they are the principles upon which the Junian hand is constructed.

‘ When Junius altered the natural tendency of his hand, which he sometimes attempted for the purpose of disguising it, by making the lower as well as the upper turns of his letters angular, the two leading characteristics of extreme breadth to the former and narrowness to the latter still remain (see his Letter to Woodfall, No 3). It is not only the fineness and smallness of the writing, but also the angularity of so many of the lower turns of the writing of that Letter that occasions the strong contrast of its general character to that of the Letters to Woodfall, Nos. 7, 9, 12, and 22, and others of the Junian writing.

‘ Although many of the Letters of Junius contrast with each other in their general appearance, the construction of the writing of all is based upon these principles:—In all, the upper turns of the letters are angular and cramped, and the lower turns wide and free; and the latter are habitually, though not always well rounded, agreeably with the

the natural tendency of Francis's writing, particularly when he wrote rapidly. The extreme width of the lower turns of the letters frequently occasioned in the Junian hand as much space between the letters as between words, as shown in the subjoined facsimiles:—

common hardly have
that the may are
may allow that

‘ The following word, taken from Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, forcibly illustrates those three peculiarities:—

attachment to

‘ In that facsimile the upper turns of the letter *h* and *m* are angular in the extreme, and the lower turn of the letter *h* is so round and wide that it occasions almost as much space between the two letters as is afforded between that word and the word following it.’

The following may be mentioned as some of the specialities in the handwritings of Junius and Francis:—

‘ I. Sir Philip Francis was apt to write the letter *i* in the word “time” upside down, as in the following facsimiles:—

time time
↓ ↓

He has done so in eight of the twenty-one instances wherin that word occurs in his Letters. He would, therefore, be liable to repeat that habit whilst writing in a feigned hand.

Accordingly I find, on the 2nd page of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, that word written in the same remarkable manner, thus:—

time
↓

Moreover, the general character of the writing of that word corresponds closely with the two instances taken from Francis's writing.

‘ II. But, further, Francis, having written the word “time,” in the middle of a sentence, in the peculiar manner shown, had the habit of

occasionally making an addition to the small letter *t*, which had the effect of converting it (improperly) into a capital letter, thus:—

found fine your fine
second fine

Both of those peculiarities occur in the word "time" written on the 1st page of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, thus:—

mean time

The Letter from which that word is taken is dated only a month after the date of Francis's Letter from which the first of the two facsimiles of the word "timo" is taken, and it occurs in the same phrase, viz. "in the mean time." The form of the addition made by Junius does not exactly correspond with that by Francis, because he was disguising his hand; but the habit or intention is the same, notwithstanding the difference of form. This disguise, however, like many others adopted by Junius, was not uniformly maintained. There is another instance in which no difference of form appears. Francis occasionally made this addition to the small letter *t* when he wrote the word "thing" in the middle of a sentence where no capital letter was needed, as in the following facsimiles:—

Every Thing + anything
anything + every Thing

'Junius has made a similar addition, and in like form, to the letter *t*, in the same word ("things"), also written in the middle of a sentence, thus: —

of Things

• 11

‘It will be observed in each case that, if the addition be removed, the word will remain written with a small letter *t*, commenced with an upstroke in the usual manner, and that the entire word has been written by a single operation of the pen, sustained on the paper until the word has been completed.

‘Those two peculiarities are by no means frequent in the Junian writings; their occurrence in Francis’s hand suggests the source whence they are derived. They occur in other words in his writing at irregular intervals, insufficient to be regarded as habits of writing, but rather as inadvertencies to which he was liable. Another instance of an inverted letter *i* occurs in the word “writing,” and “write,” in Francis’s Letters, thus:—

It also occurs in similar words in Junius to Woodfall, thus:—

‘In the same way that Francis formed the letter *i* similarly to a letter *r*, so he formed (and far more frequently) the letter *r* like a letter *i*. The writing of Junius is equally plentiful in these irregularities.

‘III. In Junius to Woodfall, the two letters *r* and *e* of the second syllable of the word “Cavendish” are omitted. The omission is signified by a character formed somewhat after the following model,

thus: . This mark is the brand of Francis’s hand, and, corroborated by other evidence, stamps that Letter as having emanated from him. The omission of the three letters *u*, *a*, and *r*, of the second syllable of the word “February” in the dating of that Letter is signified by a mark in perfect keeping with that employed by Junius, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

FRANCIS.

‘I do not remember having seen this mode of shortening a word in any other handwriting. It may have been common in the last century, but no instance has attracted my attention in a very large amount of different handwritings of that period which I have examined in the British Museum. It occurs once only in the Junian hand; but I find three other instances in the Letter Book on the backs of Letters by Francis besides that already given, sufficient to show that that mark of abbreviation was a peculiarity specially belonging to his hand.

• Tho

'The preceding are instances of specialities in regard to forms, in all three of which, in combination, few if any other writers can be found to participate with Junius and Francis. I find in their hands not only coincidences of special formations of letters but of special uses for which particular formations only of certain letters are employed; and, notwithstanding those formations are of a common character, the application of them to particular uses, to the exclusion of other common formations, gives them considerable importance.'

We may also notice another speciality in the two handwritings relating to the letters *m* and *n*.

'The junction of two words had the effect of materially altering the character of the formation of certain letters in the two handwritings now under examination. Both Junius and Francis frequently formed the letters *m* and *n* in a somewhat distinctive manner, as in the following facsimiles:—

JESUS. Material Materials

FRANCIS. *Materials Manners*

JUNIOR. Number right.

FRANCIS. Numbers eight
+ +

JENIES.
Newshapers

FRANCIS.
Newspapers

It will be observed that roundness of form characterises the upper turns, commencing the letters *m* and *n*, in the above examples. Those letters might have been joined to the words preceding them and still have preserved that character; and would do so in hands wherein roundness of form is habitual. This, however, was not so either with Junius or with Francis. When Junius joined either a letter *m* or a letter *n* to the word preceding it, he altered the character of those letters in a very marked manner by changing the round form into a very angular one. Francis also fell into the same habit, as is evinced in the following facsimiles:—

JANUARY.

JUNIUS.

a ⁺ peculiar and markets you ⁺ night ⁺

FRANCIS.

all ⁺ matter ⁺ a more ⁺

solemn manner ; ⁺

JUNIUS.

can ⁺ either ⁺ be

FRANCIS.

done ⁺ neither ⁺ no ⁺

Moreover, they were both prone to join words commencing with *m* or *n* to the words preceding them.

Francis, on very rare occasions, commenced the small letter *m*, when *disjoined* from the preceding word, not only angularly but in a very distinctive manner, as in the subjoined examples:—

my me try more

¶

Two instances of the letter *m* thus formed occur in the Junian hand, as in the words "man" and "money," written in the *Essay* sent to Mr. Grenville, as in the following facsimiles:—

man

money

"Thus, three distinct formations of the letter *m*, at the beginning of words, distinguish alike the handwriting of both Junius and Francis."

We have selected the above similarities out of many hundreds of a like kind, merely as examples of the mode of investigation adopted by Mr. Chabot in dealing with the formation of letters. We now proceed to mention some instances of habits common to Junius and Francis, which are not necessarily dependent on their mode

mode of forming letters. Mr. Chabot enumerates nine such instances:—

1. The mode of dating Letters.
2. The placing a fullstop after the salutation.
3. The mode of signing initials between two dashes.
4. Writing in paragraphs.
5. Separating paragraphs by dashes placed between them at their commencement.
6. Invariable attention to punctuation.
7. The enlargement of the first letters of words.
8. The insertion of omitted letters in the line of writing, and not above it, and the various modes of correcting miswriting.
9. Mode of abbreviating words, and abbreviating the same words.
10. Misspelling certain specified words.

Of these several points of agreement in habits between the handwritings of Junius and Francis, the first is the most striking, and deserves special study. The datings of the Letters of Junius are characterised by the following nine points:—

1. The placing the note of place and time at the top of the Letter, and not at the foot or close of it.
2. The writing the whole in one line only.
3. The writing the name of place.
4. Placing the day of the month before the month, and not after it.
5. Placing a stop after the name of place.
6. Placing a stop after the day of the month.
7. Placing a stop after the name of the month.
8. Placing a stop after the figures of the year.
9. Writing at full length such a month as 'January,' 'February,' or 'October.'

The following facsimile, taken from Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, illustrates the nine points:—

*Ths
London. 20. October. 1760.*

Now, it is remarkable that these nine points, and particularly the first eight, are found combined in most of the existing Letters of Francis. Many of these points, taken separately, are of common concurrence in the openings of Letters; but their combination is likely to be extremely rare. Mr. Chabot says he has never seen them combined, except in Junius and Francis; and

and Mr. Twisleton, who has examined more than 3000 Letters in the 'Grenville Papers,' the 'Anson Papers,' and other documents of the same kind, likewise states that he has never seen those points united in any other writer. Mr. Chabot, therefore, we think, is justified in adding that, 'upon comparing a paper written anonymously with the known Letters of a suspected party, such a combination in each document would carry suspicion to the highest point, and, united to a few only of other coincidences of equal importance, would, by an impartial mind, be deemed conclusive as to the reality of the suspected fact.'

Another habit which Francis had in writing was to put a full-stop after the salutation, thus: 'Sir.' 'My Lord.' This we find in forty-one out of the forty-two Letters in Francis's Letter-Book. 'The habits of different persons differ in this respect. Some put a comma, a few put a fullstop, a very few put a semicolon, and the great majority of writers put no stop at all after the salutation. Others do not follow any fixed rule, but sometimes put no stop, sometimes put a fullstop, and sometimes put a comma. What was remarkable in Francis was his settled habit of marking his salutations with a fullstop. On scrutinising Junius with a knowledge of this habit, it will be found that in this volume there are twenty-five salutations of Junius; that he placed after every one of them either a fullstop or a line of separation; that he substituted the line of separation in seven instances only, which are in informal Letters to his printer; while in twelve other Letters to his printer, and in all his formal Letters, such as the three Letters to Mr. Grenville, the first Letter to Lord Chatham, the Letter signed "Vindex," and the Letter signed "Scotus," a fullstop invariably follows the salutation.'

We may also direct attention to the manner in which Junius signed his Letters. He rarely subscribed himself otherwise than with the single initial capital letter C, which he placed between two lines, thus: *—

This practice is not traceable in the earlier Letters of Francis,

* It may be remarked, by the way, that these two forms of the letter C can be traced to the hand of Francis, as shown in the following facsimiles:—



Claret	Chitchat
Cause	Candidate

but

but during the writing of the Junian Letters he seems unconsciously to have adopted himself the form of signature which he had assumed as a disguise. On two occasions, whilst the Junian Letters were being written—viz. on the 3rd May, 1769, and on the 14th July, 1770—he added two lines, precisely as in the Junian signature, thus:—

It is interesting to observe, as Mr. Twisleton has pointed out, that this Letter of the 3rd of May, 1769, was written only two days before the private Letter of Junius to Woodfall, No. 2. Francis signed his initials, *P. F.*, between two dashes on the Wednesday, and Junius signed his initial letter, *C.*, between two dashes on the Friday.

In connection with this subject the following anecdote may be mentioned, for which Mr. Twisleton was indebted to Mr. W. J. Blake, of Danesbury, to whom it was told by his father, the late Mr. William Blake:—

‘After the publication of “Junius Identified,” Mr. William Blake was in a country house with Sir Philip Francis, and happened to converse with him on the poetry of Lord Byron, to which Sir Philip expressed his aversion. This induced Mr. Blake to single out for his perusal the well known lines in the “Giaour,” beginning with “He who hath bent him o'er the dead.” Francis read them, went to a writing table, seized a piece of paper, wrote down on it a string of words which he extracted from those lines, ending with “nothingness” and “changeless,” added below them the word “senseless,” and then rapidly subscribed his initials between the two dashes. On observing the signature, Mr. Blake said to him, “Pray will you allow me to ask you, Sir Philip, do you *always* sign your initials in that manner?” Sir Philip merely answered gruffly, “I know what you mean, Sir,” and walked away. This took place in or about the year 1817, forty-eight years after the 3rd of May, 1769, the date of the Letter in this volume in which the signature of his initials between two dashes first occurs.’

There is also a striking similarity between Junius and Francis in their mode of abbreviating words. This will be seen by two or three examples. Junius and Francis occasionally abbreviated the words ‘though’ and ‘would,’ thus: ‘tho,’ ‘wo!’ as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

FRANCIS.

So also both Junius and Francis occasionally abbreviated the words ‘do not,’ and ‘your,’ in the following manner:—

So

JUNIUS.

don't

4:

FRANCIS.

don't

if.

Junius and Francis both punctuated their writing habitually; and where a sentence ends in the middle of a paragraph, they frequently give force to the punctuation by substituting a dash for a period, and sometimes more effectively by employing both. Occasionally they add this dash to every other form of punctuation, in the following manner, thus:—

, — ; — : — ? — ! —

The most remarkable instances are those of the notes of exclamation and interrogation, involving in each three operations of the pen, thus:—

JUNIUS.

! ? . /

FRANCIS.

? !

The attention which Junius and Francis paid to punctuation had been previously noticed by Mr. Taylor:—

‘Nothing affords greater scope for diversity of practice than the mode of punctuation. It is a common thing for writers to be very careless in this matter: but Junius and Sir Philip are particular in the use of stops, pointing with minuto accuracy even the most trifling notes. The principle upon which this is done shows the closest conformity of plan. It may seem a trivial circumstance to some, but the introduction of the *short stroke*—or *dash*—between words as well as sentences, to the degree in which it is done by both of them, is characteristic of the writers.’—*Junius Identified*, p. 376.

On the nature of the evidence thus adduced, the following remarks of Mr. Twisleton deserve attention:—

‘It is to be remembered that the evidence of the identity of Junius and Francis as handwriters is cumulative; that is to say, the force of the evidence depends not on any one single coincidence, but on numerous coincidences varying materially in their individual strength, which, when viewed in connexion, lead irresistibly to one inference alone, though each by itself may be inconclusive. A common

common fallacy in dealing with such evidence is to take each coincidence separately, and to show that a similar coincidence exists in some other writer. This would be a perfectly legitimate mode of reasoning, if any one coincidence so dealt with were adduced as in itself conclusive; but it fails to meet the requirements of the case, when the argument is based on the combination of many such coincidences collectively, and not on the separate existence of any one of them. Perhaps the best illustration of the force of cumulative evidence is one which has long since been made, but which is not, on that account, the less valuable. It is the inference that dice are loaded, founded on the observation that the same numbers—say, double sixes—are thrown so many times, say fifty times running, that the fact cannot possibly be accounted for by chance. In such a case it would be vain for an advocate to attempt to shake the inference by stating after each individual throw that every dice-player sometimes threw double sixes, or occasionally threw many double sixes in succession. The point would be that the double sixes are thrown fifty times running.

‘ Applying this illustration to Mr. Chabot’s Reports, it would be well, after studying them, to review connectedly all the instances of habits which he has pointed out as common to Junius and Francis. In page 134, ten such habits are specified, which are not necessarily dependent on the mode of forming letters. Of these, the very first habit is likely to be so rare that it will probably be difficult to find a parallel in any contemporary of Junius and Francis. If such a parallel is discovered, the point will arise whether such habit is found in conjunction with the second habit; and if this is so, whether these two are found in conjunction with the third habit, and so forth. And then, if all these ten habits are found combined in any other individual, the question will present itself whether the same person unites the nine characteristics enumerated in pages 101 and 102. And, if even those characteristics belong to him, a question will still remain whether the same individual combines the nine habits as to the formation of letters which are specified in page 133. There is thus a union of at least twenty-eight habits in Junius and Francis; some of them involving a complex variety of minor habits or peculiarities: and all these habits are to be viewed in connection with the evidence, which shows that Francis has left the mark of his undisguised hand on the Proof Sheets of Junius. Commencing with the facsimiles in this volume of the autographs of seventeen different contemporary writers, search should be made to ascertain how many of those twenty-eight habits co-exist in any other autographs; and the ultimate point to be decided will be whether the combination of all of them in Junius and Francis can have been accidental.’

Previous investigators had called attention to the paper upon which Junius and Francis wrote; but though this is a matter of less consequence than the handwriting, the observations of Mr. Chabot deserve notice:—

‘ I have examined in every way most minutely the quality of the paper,

paper, both as regards colour, texture, and thickness, of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, on the 6th February, 1768, and I find it perfectly agrees in each of those particulars with that of Francis's Letter, written little more than two months previously, viz. on 5th December, 1767. The two sheets of paper on which those Letters are written also agree in the following particulars:—

- The device of the water-mark is the same.
- The initials of the maker are the same; and
- The water-lines, which are not quite parallel, are the same width apart, showing that the paper has been made in the same frame or mould.

‘And, further, I find the two sheets of paper are so exactly of the same size and shape, both having been cut slightly out of truth, whereby the top edge of the paper is not mathematically parallel with the bottom edge, that I cannot doubt they have been taken from one and the same quire of paper. And, furthermore, I find that the colour of the ink with which those two Letters have been written is the same in both. Where the ink lies thinly, the writing is pale and somewhat brown; whereas where the writing has been written with a full pen, it is quite black.’

Finally, we will mention one more fact, which appears to us of equal, if not greater importance, than any of the preceding ones. The original proof sheets of the Letters of Junius are preserved in the British Museum, and several of them are lithographed in the volume before us. They contain various obliterations, which, upon a narrow scrutiny by Mr. Chabot, were found to conceal precisely the same words and figures as those which now stand in their places, and which are made to appear as corrections of the obliterated writing. The words obliterated are in the handwriting of Francis: the words written over them in that of Junius. This is especially seen in the dates of the Letters. The dates were not inserted in the manuscripts as sent to the printer, but were added in the proof sheets. It would seem that Francis, being more off his guard in correcting the proofs than in writing the Letters, inadvertently inserted the dates in his natural handwriting; but, upon discovering the mistake he had committed, he carefully blotted out these dates, and rewrote them above the obliterations in his feigned hand. But, notwithstanding all the pains he took, the original writing can still be deciphered behind the obliterations.

‘To assist in concealing these inadvertencies, and perhaps for the purpose of misleading those who might seek to lay them bare, Francis has previously to making the broad marks of defacement tampered with the writing, by the introduction of superfluous letters or portions of them—

them—a practice often resorted to when obliterations are made in wills, but which generally fails in effecting its object, as in the present case. Thus in the first obliterated date, tails have been added to the capital *J* (first written as a letter *I*), and to the figures 2 and 6. A dot has been placed over the first letter *a* in "January," and the second letter *a* has been altered into a letter *t*, thus :

21 January 1769:

On examining the photographed proof-sheets we find that all the original dates have been obliterated and written in the feigned hand, except in one instance, namely, in the Letter to Dr. William Blackstone, where Francis forgot to make the obliteration, and has left the date [29. July. 1769.] in his own handwriting. We subjoin a facsimile of this date, together with facsimiles of two dates written by Francis, in his private letters, in the very same month and year.

JUNIUS.

29. July. 1769.

FRANCIS.

5. July. 1769 30. July. 1769.

After this, can any one doubt that the Letters of Junius were written by Francis?*

* If the hypothesis should be started that Francis handwrote the letters for another person, but was not himself the author of them, we would submit for consideration the following observations of Mr. Twisleton:—To make intelligible the precise bearing of the handwriting on the authorship, it may be remarked that the knowledge of who was the handwriter would be conclusive as to who was the author for any one who entertains a strong conviction of the truth of any one of the four following propositions:—1st. That the known character of the handwriter forbids the supposition of his having submitted during four or five years to be the amanuensis of another author. 2ndly. That Junius, in his Dedication to the English Nation, would not have volunteered the assertion that he was the sole depositary of his own secret, if all the while he had put himself in the power of another person by making use of him as an amanuensis. 3rdly. That the private Letters of Junius to Woodfall, and the corrections in the proof sheets bear internal marks of having been written, not by an amanuensis, but by the author himself. 4thly. That, independently of handwriting, the evidence which points to the handwriter as the author is so strong, standing alone, that although it may possibly not be conclusive, it justifies vehement suspicion, and attains a high degree of moral probability. Each reader must judge for himself whether one or more of these propositions commands his assent. For any one who believes in the truth of all the four, it would be idle to undervalue the strength of moral conviction as to the authorship, which must arise from the fact of the handwriter having been definitively ascertained. And, at the very lowest, if Francis was the handwriter, this throws out of competition with him for the authorship every individual candidate in regard to whom it cannot be shown that he was more competent and more likely than Francis to have composed the Junian Letters, and that he might possibly have made use of Francis as his amanuensis.'

We have come to this conclusion after a careful examination of the evidence before us, and are not deterred from expressing it by the apprehension of being taunted with inconsistency. In a previous number of this 'Review'*, we advocated the claims of the second Lord Lyttelton for the authorship of Junius, and, on a subsequent occasion,† we stated various reasons against supposing Francis to be the writer of the Junian Letters. We are not insensible to the force of the arguments brought forward in the latter of these articles: we candidly confess that we sat down to the study of the Reports before us with a strong impression that it was impossible to identify Francis and Junius by a simple comparison of their respective handwritings; but truth and justice compel us to confess that we have risen from them with the conviction that Mr. Chabot has proved his case. We are conscious that the examples we have quoted may convey to our readers an inadequate idea of the conclusive nature of Mr. Chabot's arguments. They are only a few out of many hundred proofs; and they derive their chief force, as we have already remarked, from their cumulative character. Taken separately they are striking, but might in some cases be accidental: taken collectively they are irresistible, and their similarity cannot be explained by any conceivable number of accidental resemblances. If, therefore, the instances we have cited are not sufficient to convince some of our readers, we would ask them to suspend their conclusion till they have consulted the book itself, which, if we may judge by the impression produced upon our own minds, will convert the most incredulous.

We have already remarked that this work possesses an independent value apart from the Junian controversy. We had intended to point out its bearing upon other branches of enquiry, but having exhausted our space, we must content ourselves with referring to the important assistance it will render to all persons connected with the administration of justice.†

'It sometimes happens,' says Mr. Twisleton, 'that it is impossible to detect the author of anonymous letters or of a forged signature, except by a comparison of handwritings. A bad and base man may successfully have taken such precautions that no human eye saw his hand while it

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xc., p. 131.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxxiv., p. 322.

† The Courts of Common Law have long admitted the principle that a comparison of handwritings may be employed as an instrument in the investigation of truth, but till within the last few years it was limited to two cases—1st, the case of ancient documents, and 2ndly, in reference to documents already in evidence before the court; but these restrictions were abolished by the Legislature in civil causes by the 'Common Law Procedure Act' of 1854, and likewise in criminal cases in 1865.

was penning a particular document, and that no external evidence is in existence to trace that document into his possession. In such a case, everything in a trial may depend on the special knowledge which is brought to bear on the internal evidence of the document itself by the Advocates, the Jury, and the Judge. From ignorance of the subject an advocate sometimes does not ask the proper questions of an expert, whose evidence is favourable to his cause. From similar ignorance an advocate on the other side is frequently driven into the subterfuge of declaiming against experts, when, if he had a little knowledge of the subject, he might weaken the force of adverse evidence by two or three reasonable objections. And if in a trial either the judge or a single prejudiced juryman hold the opinion that no certainty could be arrived at by comparison of handwritings, or that in such comparison it was a better test to look to general character than to individual letters, there might easily be an absolute miscarriage of justice. If accused of writing malicious and libellous anonymous letters, a guilty man might escape, or an innocent man might be condemned. When important interests were at stake a genuine will might be rejected as a forgery, or a forged will might be accepted as genuine.*

In conclusion, we congratulate Mr. Twisleton, not only upon having settled, as we think, once for all the long-disputed controversy respecting the authorship of the Junian Letters, but upon having produced the only work which has yet appeared in the English language, conveying systematic instruction on the comparison of handwritings. The book opens a new and interesting vein of inquiry, will be essential to all engaged in antiquarian or legal pursuits, and ought to find a place in every well-appointed library.

* Mr. Twisleton adds in a note:—‘In the Matlock Will Case (Cresswell v. Jackson), which was tried before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and a London Special Jury in 1864, three codicils to a will were rejected as forgeries. In this case, in which Mr. Chabot gave evidence against the codicils, everything, as far as handwriting was concerned, depended on minute differences, which he pointed out, and which the Chief Justice, on the 1st of March, 1864, in a summing up of remarkable ability, brought in detail under the notice of the jury with his own comments. If the case had been tried by a judge under the influence of either of the principles mentioned in the text, the forgery would probably have been successful. The summing up of the Lord Chief Justice was published the same year from a transcript of the short-hand writer’s notes (*London, Alfred Boot, Duckhead, 1864*). It will amply repay perusal as a specimen, generally, of intellectual power; but it also deserves special attention as a luminous model of the manner in which evidence founded on a comparison of handwritings may be presented to a jury.’

ART. III.—1. *La France devant l'Europe.* Par Jules Michelet. Seconde Edition. Florence Lyon et Bordeaux, 1871.

2. *La Révolution.* Par Edgar Quinet. Cinquième Edition, Revue et augmentée de la Critique de la Révolution. 2 vols. Paris, 1868.

3. *La Guerre de 1870. L'Esprit Parisien Produit du Régime Impérial.* Par Emile Leclercq. Troisième Edition. Bruxelles, 1870.

4. *The Holy Roman Empire.* By James Bryce, D.C.L., Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford. Third Edition, Revised. London, 1871.

5. *Deutschland und die Kaiseridee. Eine historisch-politische Untersuchung.* Von Dr. Octavius Clason. Bonn, 1870.

6. *Das neue Deutsche Reich auf dem Grunde Germanischer Natur und Geschichte.* Von Dr. H. Veta. Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1871.

7. *Preussens Deutsche Politik, 1785, 1806, 1849, 1866.* Von Adolf Schmidt, ord. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. Umgearbeitete bis auf die Gegenwart fortgesführte dritte Auflage. Leipzig, 1867.

8. *Zur Französischen Grenzregulirung. Deutsche Denkschriften aus den Verhandlungen des zweiten Pariser Friedens.* Berlin, 1870.

9. *Die Reden des Grafen von Bismarck-Schönhausen.* Erste, zweite und dritte Sammlungen, 1862-70. Berlin, 1870.

IF there were two revivals, neither of which, this time last year, could have been considered imminent,—the one was of a French Republic, the other of a German Empire. Still less could it have been expected that the fall of an Imperial throne in France and the restoration of an Imperial throne in Germany, would be precipitated by one and the same stroke of destiny.

There has been a third revival—always too closely attendant or consequent on events that shake the political order of things in France—the revival of the old pretension of Paris to rule over the whole country, and of the suburban operative masses to rule over Paris. The first of these pretensions was asserted in a most momentous matter last September, when, on the investment of Paris, the so-called Government of National Defence refused to accept an armistice, and the opportunity offered with it for taking the vote of France for or against peace. What an Iliad of woes might possibly have been spared to France had that vote been

taken!* But the Defence Government then took it upon them to act as if Paris were France, and Villette and Belleville have now taken it upon them to act as if they were Paris. The old fatal discord has broken out again between the city populace, who think they have everything to gain, and the people of the country, who know they have everything to lose from a Paris democratic dictatorship, whose leaders and followers now, as in 1793 and 1848, have settled in their own minds that what a republic means, primarily and essentially, is *panem et circenses* for the *quondam* working class, who have been playing at soldiers during this last half-year, within the walls of Paris, while the élite of the citizens, in station as well as in character, and their provincial military and marine auxiliaries, have been doing the principal work of war on the ramparts. The dread and horror diffused by the like essential characteristics of the old Jacobin ascendancy at the Terror-epoch—and surviving even to this day amongst the rural millions in direct contact with the soil, and looking for prosperity solely to the undisturbed reaping of its produce—we find vividly exemplified in the following incident related in the epistle introductory to a work which well deserves the attention of our readers:†

‘Our friend, M. Vatel, whose indefatigable activity and conscientious spirit of historical research you are well acquainted with, lately undertook a journey to St. Emilion, in order to ascertain for himself the exact circumstances of the death of the three Girondins, Buzot, Pétion, Barbaroux, to see the cave where they took refuge, and the loft where Silles and Guadet were captured. Immediately on his arrival, he proceeded to a minute inquiry: he put himself in communication with the surviving witnesses of these already remote occurrences. He interrogated them on the spot, appealed to their recollections, and obtained answers of extraordinary clearness and precision to all his questions. But he threw the whole district into alarm. Nobody could imagine that the mere research of truth,

* George Sand, in an interesting recent paper, entitled ‘Journal d’un Voyageur pendant la Guerre,’ remarks, under the date of 26th September last, ‘I do not see that it was impossible to proceed to the elections, even after the implacable answer of King William (relative to revictualling). There was, indeed, a grand and generous audacity, on the part of the Government of Defence, in summoning us to continued resistance, at the foreseen cost of the most terrible sacrifices. But to forbid France from voting was a course which passed all bounds of allowed audacity, and entered the domain of temerity. It involved a contradiction. We were supposed capable of rushing to arms against odds of ten to one, while we were supposed incapable of discussing, through our representatives, the terms of an honourable peace. . . . The more loudly you proclaim the Republic, the more must the nation feel entitled to exercise their political rights by virtue of the liberty the Republic promises them.’

† ‘La Démagogie en 1793 à Paris,’ &c. Par C. A. Dauban. Paris, 1868.

the disinterested passion of historical accuracy, could be the sole stimulant of a curiosity so ardent and so inquisitive. They began to interrogate M. Vatel in his turn. The old men asked him with manifest uneasiness—“Are they going to bring all that back again upon us? Are we going to be brought back again to the time of the worthless notes and the great terror—[*la grande épourante*]?” The guillotine and the assignats—that’s all they kept in mind of the Revolution. Ah yes!—set about making Republicans of these good folks!’

How comes it to pass that France allows Paris to revolutionize her once or twice every fifteen or twenty years, with almost the regularity with which London looks forward to her normal decennial commercial crash and panic? In other words, how does it happen that ‘the principles of 1789’ are hitherto a political failure—by the direct or indirect confession of every candid and instructed French champion of those principles?

The remoter causes of this constantly recurring evil are traceable to the times of absolute monarchy, whose concentration of power in few irresponsible hands holding the reins of administration at the Capital, and sending forth their despotic decrees to the provinces, has been too little changed in all the revolutions which have taken place since. The *proximate* cause of the often-repeated success of a revolutionary minority in the capital has been the utterly untrustworthy composition and character of the National Guard. The cannoneers of the National Guard gave the victory to Jacobin anarchy, to be followed by Jacobin tyranny, in 1792-93. The cannoneers of the National Guard have repeated the same part now, though, happily, amidst surrounding circumstances which preclude all prospect of eighteen months of ‘Terror’ and of ‘Public Safety.’ Twenty years back Alexis de Tocqueville described their habitual effectiveness, negative or positive, intentional or unintentional, in promoting revolution, in the following passage of a conversation which has fortunately been placed upon record, and which is full of instruction and warning, not only for France, but England, if we ever should be tempted to trust to a force so composed for preserving public order.

‘There is not a more revolutionary institution,’ he continued, ‘that is to say, an institution more productive of revolutions, than a national guard. Just after a revolution, to be sure, it is useful, as a protection of property, but its instincts are to bring one on. The majority of its members have no political knowledge: they sympathise with the prevalent feeling, which is seldom favourable to a government. Some wish to give it a lesson, others would like to overthrow it. Very few, except in moments of excitement, like those of June, 1848, choose to expose themselves in its defence; and one National Guard who joins

the mob does more harm than all the good that can be done by twenty who support it. The mob have not the least respect for the uniform; but the soldiers will not fire on it.'*

But the main cause of what we have not feared to designate as the political failure of 'the principles of 1789' is to be found in the exaggerated and overstrained character of those principles themselves. To enjoy freedom is not enough for Frenchmen—they must have invented it. The doctrines and traditions of freedom, which have succeeded in Europe and America, must be discarded as antiquated for 'the principles of 1789,' which have failed in France. Every one of the candid and instructed French champions of those principles touches closely on the true cause of that failure; and then almost every one of them flies off at a tangent, as if 'the principles of 1789' had some intoxicating occult quality in them to drive wise men mad. It is a malady of French *amour propre*, best described by Shakespeare's Olivia:—'O you are sick of self-love, Malvolio!' The French monomania, which finds everlasting expression in 'the principles of 1789,' consists in assuming that Frenchmen are the original inventors and world-patentees of a perfectly new model of human rights and liberties. Fourscore and odd years of bitter experience have indeed impressed the conviction on the wiser minds of France that every political fabric erected on their patent model has proved a failure. This sense of ever-recurring failure—of real retrogression from the point of political liberality and public spirit which had been reached by the better minds of the eighteenth century in France—pervades every chapter, we had almost said every page, of Edgar Quinet's 'Revolution.' Yet it fails to lead him to recognise distinctly, as the primal source of that failure, the attempt to make all things become new in an old country, —an attempt which constituted the whole boasted originality of 'the principles of 1789': a Malvolian originality, engendering Malvolian illusions, and ending in Malvolian disappointment. A recent French correspondent closes his letter with an observation bearing very aptly on this point:—'We have a people who are very good, in spite of their errors; intelligent bourgeoisie, wealthy classes, few poor; we have even an ancient dynasty, whose mind is open to all the modern ideas; but we want an aristocracy, and without an aristocracy there is neither respect nor discipline in a nation. What is it that has so frequently compromised France during three-quarters of a century? The want of respect and discipline which naturally results from the false principle of equality.'

* 'Memoir, Letters, and Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville.' London, 1861.
The

The final consequences of the false principle above noted have been signally manifested in the war just closed. Prussia had preserved the essential aristocratical elements in her system,—the unbroken traditions of established authority, and habitual obedience to it. France had lost them. France often boasts the complete fusion in her territory of races originally distinct, which has rendered her people more homogeneous than any other. Pity she cannot also boast that they are more united. Pity she cannot also boast that concord of classes in a solid social order; that softening of the unavoidable inequalities amongst men, by habits and associations so powerful in old communities, which have not turned their backs upon their own history; those independent influences of voluntarily-recognised station and voluntarily-accepted authority, without which a nation has throughout its provinces no rallying-points of public sentiment or action, no political life, except in its turbulent and corrupt cities.

Mallet Du Pan, writing towards the close of the last century (in 1797), with immediate reference to the envenomed enmity at that time existing between parties in the French legislature and the executive power (the Directory)—which at length exploded in its military *coup d'état* against the Opposition party and the murderous exile *en masse* of the latter to the swamps of Guiana, observed, and the observation has been confirmed by too many examples since—‘A great deliberative assembly in France will never be anything but a bear-garden, or else a fire-ship’ [*‘Une grande assemblée délibérative en France ne sera jamais qu'une pétandièrre ou un brûlot’*].*

Whatever be the justice or injustice of so sweeping a description of French assemblies, it may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that a *French Republic* has never hitherto been anything else than a scourge or a sham. And it may be affirmed, equally without fear of contradiction, that the French people has never been Republican, unless as Sganarelle was a doctor—*malgré lui*. The two first French Republics, and the present third one, are alike of Parisian creation; and the power of Paris (thrice exercised) to assimilate her illegitimate political offspring on France is the anarchic consequence of the monarchic centralization of centuries:—

‘The absolute preponderance of Paris over the provinces,’ says the honest republican Quinet, ‘which armed the Crown with such irresistible power, served equally for its overthrow. How should the old régime have failed to be destroyed as soon as it was attacked? No

* ‘*Mémoires et Correspondance de Mallet Du Pan*,’ vol. ii. pp. 306.
communication

communication between the nobles in the provinces. No means, outside of Paris, of mutual understanding, or concerted action. The old servitude, which had produced universal isolation, had produced universal impotence. The only really organised force which still survived was the monarchy.'

A king who, at the decisive hour, could have played the part of a king, might have changed the whole course of events in the first French Revolution. But it would have been a miracle if the last of a line of absolute monarchs, born in the purple, had possessed personal energy to wield that force which still survived in the monarchy, so as to keep the Revolution, accomplished in the mind of the nation, out of the hands of the mob. 'I am inclined to think,' says Tocqueville, 'that, had the Revolution been made by a despot, it might have left us less unfitted to become one day a free people than it has left us now, made, as it was, by the people's hands and in its name.' Neither by nature nor by nurture, however, was Louis XVI. the despot to make a Revolution; nor by his utter inexperience of parliamentary tactics (an inexperience shared by his subjects) was he capable of the part of a constitutional monarch whom a revolution might leave still enthroned when it had blown over. The Parisian Demus, stimulated by Mirabeau, contrary to his own better mind, would accept no constitutional franchises as a gift from 'despotism'; and Louis XVI. was too little of a despot to get it to take what monarchy without suicide could give. Then, as since, the great body of the French nation was anything rather than Republican. But neither the Government, nor any independent class or party, was strong enough to prevent a small minority in France—a small minority in Paris—from setting up what they called a Republic. 'The living soul of the Revolution,' says Quinet, 'resided in a small number; that is why the nation got so soon tired of it.' Singular, that a writer who sees so clearly and avows so candidly that the First Republic was no choice of the nation, fails to see with equal clearness, or avow with equal candour, that the Paris populace had no right to choose a form of Government for the French people! Quinet, to do him justice, has no palliatives or euphemisms for the crimes of the Revolution; but he labours under the inability, common to his compatriots generally, to see that the crimes of 1793 followed, by an almost fatal consequence, from the systematic repudiation of all pre-existing authority in 1789.

Of the Second French Republic, again instituted by the Paris populace in February 1848, it must at least be acknowledged that it tempted no perjuries, for it exacted no oaths, except the oath of the President—and that was broken. Almost from the first hour

hour of its existence every one conspired aloud against it. As well the upholders of civil and proprietary rights—the vast majority of the nation—as the democratic and socialist assailants of those rights, and advocates of unrealised Utopias, agreed—if they agreed in nothing else—in impatience of the Republic; the former because they could not bring themselves to believe that it would secure public order, the latter because they found it too fond of order and not fond enough of Utopias. Never surely was universal suffrage less justified of her children. Never was more clearly manifested how little hold on the minds or hearts of Frenchmen had the mere name and form of Republic; how easy an enterprise would be that of overthrowing it even in form and name. ‘When such events,’ says Edgar Quinet, speaking of the 18th Brumaire—but not, we may suppose, without a side glance at the 2nd December—‘when such events are accomplished, not only without resistance on the part of contemporaries, but even with their complicity, be well assured that the recurrence of similar events is certain. Great, indeed, must be the temptation to enslave nations, which harbour no resentment, preserve no recollection even, of their enslavement.’

It is a remembered saying of the late Charles Buller, of genial memory, that the first British Reform Bills were carried by ‘enormous lying.’ It might be said that the third French Republic was brought to the birth by the sudden revelation, on the news of Sedan, of the enormous official and other lying with which Paris and France had been amused till that hour. ‘*Nous avons été abreués de mensonges*,’ was the expression of Frenchmen themselves. For the moment, the fumes of false glory and false self-solace were dissipated. But if the magic cauldron of Imperial wizardry was upset by that earthquake-shock, the lying oracles of the Empire were worthily replaced by the lying oracles of the Republic.

A Belgian writer, M. Emile Leclercq, has published an amusing little series of specimens of the ‘*esprit Parisien*,’ consisting of Paris newspaper-cuttings, before and since Sedan:—

‘It is Paris,’ he says, ‘that gives the tone—the key-note, sets men and ideas in motion, instigates and stimulates, by turns threatens and sings. The provinces only follow slowly and reluctantly the impulse communicated by Paris. Without Paris, France in all probability would show herself a nation not less sensible, not less pacific than England. If I am wrong in that supposition, so much the worse for France.’

‘The Parisian has always believed that changing his flag could set cripples on their legs again, efface all stains, and clear all consciences. Catastrophes always appear to him confined to forms, when they are really accomplished in facts. The true Parisian has a sort of naïveté and

and enthusiasm, which make him see everything entirely different from the reality. Accordingly, what seemed to him most urgent on the 4th September, 1870, was to proclaim a Republic. The Parisian again began crying "*Vive la République!*"—as in February, 1848. But to proclaim a Republic was not precisely to make Republicans start from the soil. Neither in Paris nor in France were there Republicans in strength sufficient to form a powerful party. Republics are not to be improvised with proclamations or patriotic songs.'

Four or five years back, while Paris was yet gay, soon after the publication of Napoleon III.'s '*Histoire de Jules César*,' three remarkable historical figures made their appearance at a fancy ball in that capital. Midmost of the three marched cocked-hatted, grey redingoted, military-booted, the living 'counterfeit presentment' of the first Napoleon. On the one side of him, hook-nosed, laurel-crowned, apparelléd in martial garb of old Rome, marched an exceedingly imperator-looking figure, who could be nobody else but *Jules César*. On the other side, an imperial-crowned Frankish figure of about A.D. 800, looking as if he might just have risen from his knees before Pope Leo III., who, as is known, by a well-studied impromptu, saved his dear son Charlemagne the trouble of putting the imperial crown on his own head. Solemnly stalked the august trio arm in arm among the motley Parisian masqueraders, exclaiming from time to time, '*Malheur à ceux qui ne nous comprennent pas!*'

Paris has been scared out of her laughing mood since by the apparition of a *fourth* imperial figure—no fancy one this time. The Versailles *Galéries de Glaces* has mirrored trans-Rhenane uniforms, and echoed to Lutheran chants saluting a German Emperor,—sights and sounds in the proud palace of the Grand Monarque, which might almost have been expected to bring up the ghost of Louis XIV. himself in phantasmal protest against the double profanation.

'Of those who in August, 1806,' remarks Mr. Bryce, in his interesting and instructive work on '*The Holy Roman Empire*,' 'read in the English newspapers that the Emperor Francis II. had announced to the Diet his resignation of the imperial crown, there were probably few who reflected that the oldest political institution in the world had ceased to exist.' Those (including the learned author of the above-cited work himself) who, since its first edition, have read the English newspapers of January, 1871, must have become aware that, if German Cæsarism has lived into the nineteenth century, German Cæsarism has not died out in it, or has sprung to life again, Phoenix-like, from its ashes, on stronger wing, and with sharper beak than ever.

But on the threshold of our attempt at treating of German Cæsarism,

Cesarism, we are met by the question—Does there exist—has there ever existed—can there ever in the nature of things exist, any such historically legitimate personage as a German Caesar? The question thus put sounds little short of flat blasphemy. Is, then, the Berlin Reichstag a mere Parliament of Laputa?—is stalwart William the mere 'simulacrum' of an Emperor?—burly Bismarck the mere 'sham' of a Chancellor? Mr. Carlyle, at least, we already know, will not say so. Whence this suggestion of a doubt whether Caesar, Chancellor, Reichstag, and all the rest, may not be but the baseless fabric of an anachronistic vision—to leave not a wreck behind? We find it in a brief essay from the pen of Dr. Octavius Clason, of Bonn, which, brief as it is, gives evidence of original thought and extensive reading. The author begins by showing what few readers of Roman history (unless they happen to be also writers of it, who have a paradox or pet crotchet to support) will be disposed to deny—viz., that Roman Cesarism was illegitimate in its first creation, and could confer no legitimacy on any new graft on its old trunk. Secondly, that the title of 'Holy Roman Empire of the German nation,'—the compound title adopted as that of the German empire from the days of Maximilian I. to those of Francis II., when it expired—besides involving an absurd contradiction in terms, affirmed a falsehood in fact, viz., that there ever really existed a German empire from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1806. There existed, indeed, German kings, who were decorated first by Popes, and afterwards by princely and priestly Electors, with a Holy Roman Imperial title, the idea attached to which was oddly compounded of a supposed unbroken succession from that most unholy Roman empire founded on force by Julius, and consolidated in fraud by Augustus Caesar, and of mediæval conceptions of feudal lordship and vassalage, which required, to complete the theory of feudality, a lord paramount of the world, from whose grant all ownership of land must be supposed to have emanated. But it was as Roman Emperors, and not as German kings, that they could claim this world-sovereignty, the actual exercise of which eluded their grasp from age to age, till at length their efforts to realise the dream of empire in Italy, and translate into fact the succession of Augustus, conceded to them in form and name, fairly broke down their German hereditary sovereignty beneath the weight of their elective and illusory Roman Emperorship. The head of the Holy Roman empire was, in idea and imagination, Lord of the World; the German prince who wore its crown, found it a crown of thorns; and we agree with Dr. Clason, that no epoch can be singled out at which the

the 'Holy Roman Empire of the *German* nation' was a solid political fact.

From the date, indeed, at which the Holy Roman Empire began to call itself *German*, it necessarily forsited the whole of the vague prestige which had clung to its name. That prestige, like that of the Holy Catholic Church, with which it was closely connected, depended entirely on the idea of an universal empire. To nationalise was to destroy it.

'Its last characteristic distinction,' says Dr. Clason, 'was destroyed, when, in 1338, the electoral princes resolved at Rhense that the Roman Imperial Crown should thenceforth be independent of Rome and Italy, and conferred in Germany. From the date of that decision the imperial idea was stripped of all life or reality. The Roman Emperor as such had no longer any power left, even in imagination; and therein his position was markedly distinguished from that of the Russian and French Emperors of modern times. The Russian and French Emperors are, or were, powerful *as such*; the Holy Roman Emperors only as German kings. And when modern German kings had lost much of their former power, and the royal and imperial titles of the Austrian sovereign became, as it were, two air-castles, in either of which his dignity might dwell at discretion, the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation still remained standing, exanimate and ossified as it was, the derision of foreigners, the shame and sorrow of natives. The wretched thing at length in 1806 terminated its existence; and no one perceived that anything was altered in State relations, when Francis II. ceased to be Roman Emperor, and called himself Emperor of Austria instead.'

The conception and preparation of that great national revolution in Germany, which led by rapid process to the late terrible international struggle, terminating, for the time being, in the military 'effacement' of France, date from very long back—far back, indeed, into the good-for-nothing old age of the Holy Roman empire, of which Voltaire said that it only fell short on three points of deserving its name, viz., that it was neither *Holy*, nor *Roman*, nor an *Empire*. Nearly a century back, in 1785, Frederick the Great of Prussia called into existence the so-called *Drei-Fürsten-Bund*, the first imperfect form of that North German Confederation whose final formidable development in 1866, on the ruins of Austrian power in Germany, frightened France from her propriety, provoked her to begin arming before she was attacked, and to challenge trial of battle before she was full-armed. More than a half century back, the most eminent statesmen and diplomatists of Prussia signed their names to memorials addressed to the Allied Powers at Paris, in 1815, demanding precisely those territorial guarantees for the security

security of the German frontier from renewed French inroads, the concession of which, at the cost of France, was then denied by European diplomacy, and has now at length been extorted by 'blood and iron.'*

The Germans have a fault, which is certainly not peculiar to them,—of seeing things from their own point of view, and as telling in their own favour. From the established inveterate German point of view, France is the national *Erbfeind* who, for ages back, and ever since Germany was a nation, has continually been walking into her. If this cannot be called an untruth, it must be called a half-truth. 'Where the carrion is,' says the proverb, 'there the eagles gather.' The eagles of France have certainly gathered too often over the prostrate body of Germany; but how can the blame be laid exclusively on the *Erbfeindschaft* of France, if that body offered itself, by its helpless prostration as her natural prey, and if one or other of its members was ever and anon calling on foreigners to arbitrate in German quarrels, to take part in the conflicts between German creeds, or redress the balance of power between German princes? If Germany from the pre-eminent Power of mediæval Europe sunk to no power at all, as she may be said to have done from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, that 'effict defective' can no more fairly be charged on France as its first cause than on Spain or England.

If it is not just to charge exclusively on Gallic rapacity the successive inroads on Germany in past centuries, for which the door was opened by appeals to foreign intervention by native German ambitions struggling for larger shares of German soil, or of German sovereignty, neither is it just to trace back German divisions and discords to no remoter source than the

* It is curious at the present day to look back to the projects, entertained so far back as early in the eighteenth century, to effect the restitution to Germany of the then recent conquests of France. Frederick I. of Prussia, in 1712, says Ranke, 'hoped to bring about a peace by which the empire would be secured for ever, and *Strasburg reduced to Germany*, when the unexpected change of policy took place in England'—the 'Tory change of Ministry which brought about the peace of Utrecht. Towards the middle of the century, during the Austrian war of succession, that original and enterprising veteran of diplomacy, old Lord Stair, in his zealous efforts to aid Maria Theresa to retrieve her sacrifices to Prussia at the expense of France, started similar projects of restitution of French conquests to Germany, more extensive than the present day has seen realised, and sought even to engage the great Frederick in an Anglo-Austrian league to carry them out. 'The whole scheme,' says Ranke, 'appeared to him most romantic. When they had won several great battles against France, had re-conquered the most important strong places in the Netherlands, and the city of *Strasburg*,—when they stood with a large army under the walls of Paris, it would be time enough to indulge in such dreams.' 'In the actual situation of things,' said Frederick, 'it was like attempting to pluck the moon from heaven with your teeth.'—('Hist. of Prussia,' Sir Alexander and Lady Duff Gordon's translation, iii. 29.)

great religious schism of the sixteenth century. On the celebration at Fulda, in 1857, of the eight-hundredth anniversary of St. Boniface, Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, addressed a large assembly of Roman Catholic clergy and laity in an elaborate speech, in which he reminded them that 'the former political unity of Germany had only been rendered possible by her ecclesiastical unity, and had necessarily come to an end when the churches became divided.' We need scarcely remind any reader of mediæval history what sort of political unity ecclesiastical unity had produced in Germany, from the days of the Seventh Gregory, or the Third Innocent, downward. The stirring up of royal sons against fathers, of princely vassals against imperial lords-paramount, the disruption of all moral and religious ties between subjects and sovereigns, openly or covertly promoted by the Holy Roman See to the detriment of the Holy Roman Empire, from age to age—these were sources of disunion set flowing by the Popes long before the Reformation, and to which was first due the rise and growth of those quasi-independent German principalities, whose rivalries became the never failing seed of intestine strife, and foreign influence or invasion, inevitably terminating—unless Germany were to share the fate of Poland—in the concession of avowed supremacy to that which at length proved the strongest of the conflicting powers.

It is a strange fact that a forged prophecy in Latin verse, entitled 'Vaticinium Lehninense,' since ascertained to have been written towards the close of the 17th century, probably at Berlin, but which was foisted on modern Protestant credulity as the composition of an old Catholic monk, Frater Hermannus, should, at successive epochs, in an age so sceptical as that of Frederick II., and afterwards in an age so critical as that of Frederick William III., have exercised a really considerable influence not only on the popular mind in Prussia, but even on the minds of persons of elevated political station, in leading them to look forward to the erection of a new German empire under the house of Hohenzollern. 'Such predictions,' says Professor Schmidt, 'have a secret charm even for cold and sober intellects. Such intellects, whether for pastime or from curiosity, condescend to exert themselves in seeking to discern an occult sense in nonsense; while, for superstitious tempers, such predictions even become stimulants to action. It is the demoniac element in superstition that, to justify its own indulgence, it strives to bring about what in its blind zeal it regards as the will of destiny.'

'The characteristic ingredients of this *Vaticinium Lehninense* are, firstly, hatred of all that is foreign, especially of all that is French; secondly, embitterment at the attitude of dependence on Austria taken

up by the policy of the House of Brandenburg under Frederick I. The whole country is called upon to lament that the successor of the Great Elector does not tread more faithfully in his father's footsteps. Thirdly, a desire is expressed for the ecclesiastical as well as national unity of Germany, the future attainment of which is predicted with the greatest confidence. The shepherd should recover his flock—Germany her King, *Recipit Germania Regem*. Further, it was mysteriously announced that this great Revolution would connect itself with the destiny of the last Ruler of the House of Brandenburg.'

'It was about the year 1714,' says Professor Schmidt, who has critically investigated this curious subject in a previous work, 'that this "Vaticinium Lehnninense" was first circulated and eagerly read in MS.' It emerged a second time into vogue in the early years of the reign of Frederick II., when that monarch, in alliance with France, had brought about the election of a Bavarian candidate to the Imperial dignity, which had so long been almost regarded as hereditary in the House of Austria. Again, in the early years of the present century, this egregious vaticination attracted an extraordinary amount of attention. The words 'Recipit Germania Regem' were interpreted, taken with their context, to announce the future attainment of the imperial throne in Germany by the House of Brandenburg; and even the designation of the prince under whom this should take place as *stemmalis ultimus* had the flattering gloss put upon it that he should be the last of Brandenburg Hohenzollerns, inasmuch as he should be the first of that house who should rule over entire united Germany. When, at the epoch of Napoleon I.'s foundation of the Confederation of the Rhine, the overthrow of the old German empire actually came to pass, the prophecy seemed near fulfilment.

'It is a fact,' says Professor Schmidt, 'that new editions of it were called for, that the verse above-cited received popular application to Frederick William III., who was then reigning, and that the Minister Von Hardenberg himself, even at a later period, showed an extraordinary interest in the so-called "Vaticinium Lehnninense." It was he who promoted Wilken's investigation into its origin--an investigation which remained some ten years or more unpublished, till it found at length a place in my periodical.'

There is a curious comparison and contrast to be drawn between the two most momentous epochs of French and German history viewed in relation to each other—1806 and 1870. The former of these witnessed Napoleon I.'s suppression (by non-recognition) of the Holy Roman German Empire—(a contradiction, as we have said, in terms, and a contradiction to facts.) The second witnessed the involuntary creation, by Napoleon III., of a second German

German Empire—by declaring war against Prussia, and thus uniting the whole of Germany, exclusive of Austria, under the Prussian standard. There is something whimsical, though not fanciful, in the reflection that the imperial uncle and imperial nephew, though by modes of working and with immediate results very different, alike promoted the ends which Europe now sees in course of accomplishment. By declaring the downfall of the House of Hapsburg from its German-Imperial pre-eminence, Napoleon I. cleared the field unconsciously for the ultimate realisation of the German policy, in which a bold and vigorous initiative had been taken in the previous century by the greatest sovereign who had held the sceptre in the House of Hohenzollern. The great Frederick had done all that could be done in a single strenuous reign towards the overthrow of Austria from an imperial position, and towards the succession of Prussia, under whatever name or form, to the like single supremacy. Under the unstable sway of his feeble and feather-brained successor, the great Frederick's policy had gone to sleep, but in the next reign was re-awakened (so far as timid and abortive projects went) upon Napoleon's repudiation of the Austrian Empire in Germany and ominous creation of the Confederation of the Rhine under his own protectorate. It is not the least singular incident of that memorable chapter of European history that Napoleon's assumption of the imperial title in France in 1804 had been ostensibly encouraged by Frederick William III. of Prussia, then his nominal ally, and that, on the other hand, Napoleon, by the organ of Talleyrand, then his foreign minister, equally held out encouragement to the assumption of the imperial title in Northern Germany by the Prussian monarch. Napoleon had just assumed that title in France. Francis II. had just, in like manner, assumed it in Austria, in the probable presentiment of soon having to surrender that of German Emperor. The suggestion seemed to offer itself as it were spontaneously that the fourth great continental Power should take the same title. 'But thoughts occur continually,' says Professor Schmidt, 'which are entertained more willingly than expressed, and which, for that very reason, one does not like to have suggested by others.' Besides, Prussia, of all Powers, was least likely to be taken by the bait of a barren title, or to be bribed by that title to the close alliance in which Napoleon wished to engage her. Accordingly the King replied that he was content with his present position, and desired nothing more than to retain the rank to which Providence had raised his house.

It was two years later, in July, 1806, that the French Imperial Government made a second overture to Prussia, in a despatch of Talleyrand,

Talleyrand, communicating to the French ambassador at Berlin the ratification of the Confederation of the Rhine, the recognition of which it was desired to obtain from Prussia. 'It is now for Prussia,' said the French foreign minister, 'to use so good an opportunity for the aggrandisement and consolidation of her system. She will find the Emperor Napoleon well disposed to support her views and plans. It is in her power to unite under a new federal compact the States which still continue to belong to the German Empire, and to obtain the imperial crown for the House of Brandenburg. Or she can, if she prefers it, form a Confederation of the North German States, which lie more within her sphere of action. The Emperor is ready to accord his sanction beforehand to any arrangement of that kind Prussia may think fit to make.'

This second French proposal coincided too exactly with the schemes Prussia was already concocting for the union of Northern Germany, by way of counterpoise to the Gallo-Rhenish Confederation, not to be warily responded to, while its hollowness was yet undetected. 'The King,' said Haugwitz, in his overflowing acknowledgments to Laforest, the French ambassador at Berlin, 'regards himself not only as the ally of France, but as the personal friend of the Emperor Napoleon, and as such he will zealously contribute to whatever can aid the consolidation of his dynasty.'

This diplomatic honeymoon did not last long,—only till the detection of the infidelity of the French Lothario. The immediate object of Napoleon and Talleyrand was obtained by the recognition Prussia was thus coaxed to give to the Gallo-Rhenish Confederation. And it soon appeared that France was counter-working in the smaller German Courts the negotiations attempted by the Court of Berlin for a North-German Confederation. This project, ostensibly encouraged by France in the first instance, was thwarted underhand by the covert representations and menaces with which the North-German princes were assiduously plied by French diplomacy. 'There was a monstrous irony,' says Professor Schmidt, 'in the Janus-headed diplomacy of the French Empire, which, on the one hand, invited Prussia to the formation of a Northern league, and on the other hand, as it were, annexed to the formation of that league the condition that nobody in North Germany should belong to it but Prussia herself.'

It was not, however, the *sourdes menées* of France in the matter of the North-German Confederation that was the proximate cause of the war of 1806 between France and Prussia. That war was precipitated by a species of provocation precisely similar to that which, sixty years afterwards, caused the war of 1866 between Prussia

Prussia and Austria. If we may venture a very trivial comparison, both wars were just such as never fail to declare themselves when one dog tries to snatch a succulent bone from the jaws of another. In the first case, the bone of contention was Hanover; in the second, Schleswig-Holstein. It may be worth while to pause and review the effects at the earlier epoch—when Prussian policy was confronted with that of the First, not of the Third, Napoleon—of that persistent earth-hunger, that insatiable appetite of territorial aggrandisement, which in every age has been the prime motive and ruling passion of Prussia. It was the great Frederick who, in his lawless invasion of Silesia, first gave that appetite full swing; and Prussian partisans ever since have adopted, with more or less unreserve in expression, what we may term a Prussian reading of public law, reminding us of its prototype in that of the bold Border raiders, of whom our poet sang—

‘For them—the good old rule
Sufficeth them—the simple plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.’

It was once said in apology for the French Doctrinaires when in power, ‘They put their maxims into practice.’ ‘No,’ was the reply, ‘they put their practice into maxims.’ (*‘Ils pratiquent leurs maximes.’ ‘Non ! ils maximent leurs pratiques.’*) We must say we like best those of the thorough-going apologists of Prussian annexation-policy from the great Frederick downward, who least seek to disguise it under sophistical palliations or hypocritical pretexts. To prove that policy right, without distorting the plain facts of history, it is requisite to start from the postulate that all accomplished facts are right, provided they *are* accomplished permanently. That is just the postulate Professor Schmidt does start from. He has too much respect for his mission as a historian to distort facts; but when facts are accomplished—no matter *how*—in favour of Prussia, he assumes a ‘higher law,’ under which ‘whatever is, is right.’ This saves much trouble.

Mere annexation-policy may, however, mislead a nation into ambiguous attitudes, which render its conduct unintelligible alike to friends and unfriends, and strip it of all external supports and alliances at the very crisis of its fate. This was never more signally shown than by the Prussian history of 1806-7. Prussia’s engrossing object at that epoch was to annex Hanover; it was the one immediate object on which she had set her heart, and had set her teeth—to recur to our doggish simile. All the other points on which Napoleon and Talleyrand had played fast and loose with her would have failed to screw her courage to the sticking-point of

of taking up arms against France—after having observed a ten years' (not unbrided) neutrality while the *Erbfeind* was overrunning the rest of Germany with his arms. But to find that, while French diplomacy was dangling before her eyes the bait of Hanover, Talleyrand was assuring Lord Yarmouth, the English negotiator at that time for peace, that the pure and simple restoration of Hanover to England would find no difficulty on the part of the Emperor Napoleon—filled the measure of Prussia's wrongs and wrath. The impression made at the Court of Berlin by this disclosure, which had been let out by Lord Yarmouth himself *after dinner* to Marquis Lucchesini, was indescribable. The pain of King Frederick William, says Professor Schmidt, 'knew no bounds when he learned for certain that France had the intention again to take from him the Electorate. His exasperation rising to the highest pitch goaded him to decisive measures. On the 9th of August was decreed the mobilisation of the Prussian army.' The 14th of October saw the military ruin of Prussia at Jena.*

There is a noticeable analogy between the precipitate rupture of Prussia with France in 1806 and that of France with Prussia in 1870. In both cases, the efficient causes of war were causes of some standing; in both, the immediate impulse to war was an impulse of wounded *amour propre*; in both, a dynasty found its most cherished schemes of dynastic policy shelved with something like contempt by the deeper and more daring policy of an ally-antagonist; in both, the baffled party fancied by a sudden rush to arms to retrieve his compromised position and damaged prestige; in both, the result was signal, exemplary, and most crushing overthrow. In the instance of Prussia, the darkest hour of her defeat dismemberment and impoverishment heralded the dawn of her revived moral, military, and political greatness. A future chapter of European history will

* Mr. Fox exposed with just severity, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1806 (he had then become Prime Minister) the unprincipled and shameless conduct of Prussia throughout these transactions, which began in her disgrace, to end in her downfall:—

'The Emperor of Russia,' he said, 'after he had left Austerlitz, abandoned the whole direction of his troops that remained in Germany to the King of Prussia, and this country had promised him powerful assistance in pecuniary supplies. These were the means which he possessed of giving weight to his negotiations; and what use did he make of them? Why, to seize a part of the territory of those powers who had been supporting him in the rank and situation that had enabled him to negotiate on fair terms with the French Emperor. At first he pretended only to take interim possession of the Electorate of Hanover, till the consent of its lawful sovereign could be obtained to its cession at a general peace; but latterly this thin disguise was laid aside, and he openly avowed that he accepted it in full sovereignty from France, to which it belonged by right of conquest. Such a proceeding rests upon no other conceivable foundation, but that worst emanation of the disorders and calamities of Europe in recent times, the principle of transferring the people of either State from one Power to another, like so many cattle, upon the footing of mutual ambition or convenience. . . . The pretext that Prussia received this territory from Napoleon, to whom it belonged by right of conquest, is as hollow as it is discreditable. It was merely occupied in a temporary way by the French troops; it formed no part of the French Empire; above all, its cession had never been agreed to by this country; and where is there to be found an instance in history of such a cession of a military acquisition pending the contest?'

have to tell whether 'the uscs of adversity' will be equally 'sweet' for France in this as for Prussia in the last generation. But it depends on France alone to make them so. Nothing like the ruin inflicted, threescore and odd years back, by France on Prussia, has Prussia, with united Germany at her side, now inflicted on France. By the 7th Article of the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, 'the diplomatic grave,' as Professor Schmidt says, 'of the last illusions,' 2882 (German) square miles of territory were all that was left to Prussia by France, out of 6053, which she had been completing the acquisition of at the expense of poor Poland on one side, and of the spoils of the ecclesiastical princes of the empire on the other—acquisitions made by truckling to Russia first, to France afterwards, and betraying the cause of Europe to each in succession for the territorial aggrandisement of Prussia. But if Tilsit avenged Europe on Prussia, the merciless severity of the provisions of that treaty prepared in turn the vengeance of Prussia on France—a historical lesson not unworthy the attention of more recent conquerors.

If Prussia could emerge renovated and purified from so desperate a situation as that which was made for her—or rather which her half-hearted and Hanover-filching policy made for herself in 1806-7—why should not France emerge renovated and purified from a situation far less desperate now, if there is in France now the same *ris renoratrix*, the same unexhausted moral energy, as there then was in Prussia? There is, indeed, the vital question. It is not the mere amputation of national territory, it is not the mere occupation by an enemy's troops of a nation's capital; it is not the mere draining of her monied resources to the last drop—(*non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirule!*!)—it is not any or all of these things that can crush a nation, if the national spirit itself is not crushed. The national spirit of France is now put by German conquest and exaction to a test only less stern than that of Prussia was under the armed heel of the First Napoleon. We hope it may stand that test, and retrieve the situation as nobly as Prussia did after Jena.

The next attempts to invest Prussia with the national executive power of Germany were made in the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849. This time the proposals of empire proceeded from an Assembly (the Frankfort Parliament) the offspring of revolution, not from a soldier who had found in revolution a stepping-stone to absolute power. Prussia again held back from acceptance of the proffered Imperial crown, under a sovereign of larger views than Frederick William III., if not of character much firmer, or much more favourable to the successful realisation of schemes of dynastic or national ambition. In fact, Prussia

Prussia has had no king, since Frederick the Great, whose daring policy would have prompted him to grasp a sceptre offered to his hands on popular parliamentary conditions, with the mental reservation of throwing his sword in the scale at some decisive future moment to redress the balance of power between himself and his subjects.

The sword has been thrown in the scale now with a witness, and empire in Germany has been offered now for a third time to Prussia—and this time accepted—under auspices and influences very different from those under which it was offered by the Frankfort Parliament of 1848. That Parliament asserted for itself unlimited powers of democratic legislature, and took upon it expressly to exclude the German princes, the members of the old Bund, whose functions had been self-suspended, but not abdicated, from all voice in the formation of a new Constitution, or the choice of a new emperor. Such assumption of exclusive constituent power by a democratic assembly would have been of itself sufficient to deter a monarch who, like the late (or present) King of Prussia, proclaimed himself to hold his crown by the grace of God and the right of birth, from accepting a title of nominal and precarious sovereignty *under* a popular Parliament. But, this time, it is the Princes and Free Towns of Germany that offer the Imperial title to King William I., as the formal recognition of imperatorial functions already triumphantly exercised—the crowning of an edifice of German national aggrandisement already substantially erected.

What is an Emperor? A personage at any rate as different as possible from the former French doctrinaire definition of a constitutional king—viz., a chief of the State, who reigns, but does not govern. An emperor of the Augustus-Cæsar type was a disguised despot, who pretended not to be what he was—what his honest uncle had openly proclaimed himself—(and was therefore assassinated)—viz., perpetual *Imperator*, in the city as well as the camp. An emperor of the Charlemagne or Otho type was a Frankish or German sovereign, who pretended (with papal consecration) to be what he was not—a legitimate successor to the world-sovereignty of the Cæsars, as the popes pretended to be heirs (by forged testaments) to the Roman dominion of those Cæsars. An emperor of the modern Prussian type is a soldier-king, invited chiefly by three minor kings to call himself emperor, because it would not have suited those three minor kings, not yet 'improved out of existence,' to bow down to him, as a feudal or federal superior, under any designation of less dignity than the newly-revived imperial title.

Will the Prussian empire be peace? The future answer to
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that question must depend on the degree in which the general German character may have digestive vigour sufficient to absorb and assimilate to itself the particular Prussian character. While Prussian partisans have never been tired of denouncing 'Particularism' in all other quarters, Prussia is herself the great exemplar of particularism in German history. To this very day her spokesmen cannot celebrate the unity of Germany without finishing off with a flourish of trumpets on the exaltation of Prussia. At Longchamp her soldiers acclaimed their new Emperor as Prussia's King. The question of the future is, whether the imperial title—awarded with reluctant alacrity to this great Cuckoo in Mother Germania's nest, by the fluttering councils of those of the lesser nestlings which still keep their place in it beside that terribly *mauvais concheur*—will permanently express the military power and policy of Prussia, or whether that domineering individuality, military and political, may haply, by degrees, merge and lose itself in the United Germany of the future, whose natural development the friends of European peace and progress would fain look forward to as likely to be pacific, rather than warlike.

In the mean time, it would be quite useless to disguise from ourselves what Prince Bismarck has taken no pains to disguise from any one—viz., that this war, closed as it has been by this peace, cannot fail to leave resentments in France towards Germany as bitter—we would hope not so lasting—as were those of Germany towards France after the campaigns of Austerlitz and Jena, the Peace of Tilsit, and the years of galling and grinding tyranny that followed. Waiving for the moment all higher questions of political ethics, it may be doubted whether it is consistent with political expediency, placed on the lowest grounds, permanently to exasperate a high-spirited people you cannot wholly crush. Machiavelli's maxim was to crush those whom you cannot conciliate, and the Bismarckian corollary to that axiom is, France cannot be conciliated, so must be disabled for mischief to the utmost extent possible. We have already, in passing, adverted to a fact which may not have been known or remembered by some amongst our readers—that all the leading Prussian, and some South German statesmen, in 1815, advocated exactly the same policy of taking those territorial 'securities' against future French aggressions—which their political and military successors have now taken—in memorials addressed by them to the Allied Powers at Paris. These memorials are subscribed with such names as Wilhelm Von Humboldt, Stein, Hardenberg, Von Knesebeck, Von Winzingerode, and Von Gagern. Austria drew back from supporting, as she did at first,

first, the territorial claims then put forward, as soon as she found they were meant to include no aggrandisement or advantage for Austria. Russia and England cast their weight in the opposite scale. 'Alexander was quite too magnanimous,'—Germans have never been tired since of repeating. The Duke of Wellington, in a despatch addressed to Lord Castlereagh on the 11th August, 1815, set forth as follows the grounds on which good policy seemed to him to dissuade the Allied Powers from insisting on territorial cessions such as would prolong the war-feeling in the French national heart. If such demands, he said, were enforced on the sovereign and people of France—

'there is no statesman who would venture to recommend to his Sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his arms upon a peace-establishment. WE MUST, ON THE CONTRARY, IF WE TAKE THIS LARGE CESSATION, CONSIDER THE OPERATIONS OF WAR AS DEFERRED TILL FRANCE SHALL FIND A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY OF ENDEAVOURING TO REGAIN WHAT SHE HAS LOST; and after having wasted our resources in the maintenance of overgrown military establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little useful the cessions we shall have acquired will be against a national effort to regain them. . . . In my opinion, then, we ought to continue to keep our great object, the genuine peace and tranquillity of the world, in our view, and shape our arrangement so as to provide for it. . . . Revolutionary France is more likely to distress the world than France, however strong on her frontier, under a regular government, and that is the situation in which we ought to endeavour to place her.'

These counsels of calm wisdom prevailed in 1815, and peace was preserved between France and Germany for more than a generation of man. We should be sorry to charge on Prussian policy now the conscious intention of keeping open the hereditary feud—the *Erbsfeindschaft*—with France, as the best guarantee for the consolidation and aggrandisement of the Prussian military system. But so long as France shall wince under the enormous securities to keep the peace now exacted of her, and so long as Germany shall retain possession of Metz as a 'standing menace,' and conspicuous evidence of national humiliation to France, so long may Prussia look forward to the future with well-grounded confidence that it will cut out work for her which Germany can transfer to no other arms. The progress of Prussia to empire has been throughout military, and it would seem that no otherwise than in the shape of undivided military command, to which national necessities, in the future as in the past, shall secure obedience, can she very long retain undisputed possession of that imperial position which a good moiety of Germany, with its 'Particularist' sympathies and antipathies, would

would otherwise refuse her. For our own part we have some difficulty in conceiving by what other qualities Prussia can retain empire than those by which she has gained it.* Assuredly neither with rose-water, nor Cologne-water, were the immense displacements of power in Europe effected in favour of Prussia, which have been witnessed within the last lustre of European history. Austria struck down—France struck down—Prussia is perchance recognised in her achieved supremacy. But is it possible to suppose the military aristocracy and their monarch—who have placed Prussia where she stands—*unconscious* of the sustained efforts which will be required to keep her at that pitch of pre-eminence? They are not going to step off the Prussian pedestal of their present ascendancy; and that pedestal is cast from the bronze of the captured cannon of every Power which has thrust itself athwart Prussia in her path to empire. She has fought her way up to the military command of Germany; and she well knows she cannot let the arms rust by which that command was won. Till the whole of Germany remaining yet unannexed, including German Austria, shall be finally absorbed into the Prusso-German empire 'one and indivisible,' we cannot, judging from her antecedents, foresee for Prussia a satiated appetite for power, or satisfied sense of security.

It is well observed by Professor Schmidt, to whose treatise on 'Prussia's German Policy' we have had occasion to refer so frequently in our present article, that human ambition is an essential element in all human arts and affairs, and that to make Prussian ambition in itself a matter of accusation against Prussia,

* We extract the following *military* view of the Prussian system, published a good many years back in a little volume, entitled 'Ten Months at Berlin.' The formidable development since given to that system may find equal favour in military eyes with its earlier growth. Our object is to place its real nature before eyes not military, and to furnish matter for serious reflection to peaceable people, whether in Germany or elsewhere:—

'Prussia, at least, is undoubtedly right in never losing sight of military ideas. She rose by the sword, she fell by the sword, and by the sword she rose again to a greater splendour than ever. In the recollection of her imminent danger, she has rallied round and invigorated her military institutions. There is no danger of her ever attributing to lazy diplomats the honour of victories gained by her armed forces. She knows that between hostile nations the sword is the only true persuader. To the sword she must look for the maintenance of her very existence. She has therefore become a nation of soldiers; consequently, with her, the military profession must ever be held in the highest honour. Prussia has no navies to attack her enemies' ports, no commerce to raise the wealth which might bribe them into friendship; with her, "arms" must *ad* "yield to the gown." With Russia to the east, France to the west, and Austria to the south, the little kingdom of the great Frederick, if she desire peace, must be always ready for war. She perfectly understands her position, and makes it her chief study to improve and elevate that to which she owes everything she possesses,—her gallant and well-disciplined army.'—*Ten Months' Residence in Berlin, &c.*, by Major [now General] Whittingham, C.B., London, 1846.

is to make it a matter of accusation against her that she has any energy or spring of action at all. This is perfectly true; but it is not the less a grave question for both Germany and Europe *what sort of action* Prussian history in the past renders probable as that which Prussian ambition will take in the future, and how far any sufficient counteraction to her characteristic military policy is likely to spring up in the German nation at large, supposing it to continue pacific in its wishes and understood interests.

ART. IV.—1. *Calendars of State Papers, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.* London, 1856-1870.

2. *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages.* London, 1858-1870.

3. *Librarians and Founders of Libraries.* By Edward Edwards. London, 1865.

IT is possible that our readers may have seen near Temple Bar, close to the proposed site of the New Law Courts, a large stone building of unusual proportions and not less unusual style. Its lancet windows and portly tower surmounted with pinnacles cannot be mistaken among the forest of dingy chimney-pots and rickety tenements of Fetter Lane and the neighbouring alleys. This is the New Public Record Office, still in progress, and slowly advancing towards completion. Although one portion of the building has now been erected for several years, another generation will, in all probability, pass away before the whole is finished, according to the original designs of its architect. The neighbourhood around is classic ground. Like all things else, it has seen the ups and downs of life, it has experienced the caprices of fashion and gentility. Here fluttered in happier days poor Oliver Goldsmith and his peach-coloured coat. Here met, at Dr. Johnson's residence in Bolt Court, the greatest of artists and the greatest of politicians; and here the prying, bustling James Boswell, most assiduous of hero-worshippers, gathered leaf by leaf his immortal crown. In Fetter Lane still stands the house of Dryden the poet, now converted into the base uses of a beer-shop, once commanding an extensive view of the Master of the Rolls' garden, with its flowers and fruit-trees. Here also, at a still earlier period, was 'the quiet retreat' of Gilbert Burnet the historian, and of his patron, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, not more famous for his law than for his marriage with Lord Bacon's niece, the last of her family. Now, poets, painters, and historians have taken wing. The 'quiet retreat'

treat' has been invaded by the shrill whistle of the steam-press and the rattle of manufactories. Except a dingy chrysanthemum here and there, or a patch of grass in some forgotten and neglected corner, nothing remains of the Master's garden. Part of it is occupied by the Judge's chambers, part by the huge block of the National Record Office.

Externally, the new building has not much to recommend it on the score of artistic beauty. To which of the recognised styles of architecture it ought to be referred would puzzle Mr. Ruskin himself to determine. Its pinched buttresses, squared and graduated with the undeviating precision of rule and compass, its quadrangular windows glazed with tyle, the absence of all ease and freedom in its meagre ornaments and narrow proportions, reveal the mechanical graces of official Gothic. Evidently, it is intended to be more solid than beautiful, more useful than elegant. The interior is even less attractive than the exterior. A square vestibule, badly lighted, conducts the visitor to a number of narrow passages flagged with brick; iron doors to the right and left, marked with cabalistic numerals and furnished with small circular ventilators, divide these passages with geometrical exactness. Here are preserved in iron gratings, furnished with shelves of slate, the national records and State papers. Story succeeds to story, with imperturbable uniformity, from roof to basement. No thought of beauty or general effect has entered the mind of the architect, or, rather, has been permitted to enter it. There is none of that gracefulness of outline or grandeur of design which strikes the beholder in the galleries and Reading Room of the British Museum or the Houses of Parliament. The light and cheerful proportions, the polished floors, the oak, and the mahogany of the French Foreign Archives, even the sombre ecclesiastical dignity of Simancas, find no place here. One thought, that of security, has absorbed all other considerations; and except the edifice were shelled by an invading army, or stormed in a civil insurrection, it is impossible to conceive what evil accident could ever befall it or its contents. Here, at all events, it may be supposed that, after escaping numerous perils of fire, water, and official neglect, the national records had found, like Aeneas, a safe resting-place at last.

The collection is enormous. Into this vast receptacle the Law Courts, the Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, the Home, Foreign, and Colonial Departments, have disgorged their voluminous contents. The public acts of this nation, from the Doomsday of William the Conqueror to the Coronation Oath of Queen Victoria, the pulsations of the great machine of government, with all its complex operations, are here chronicled and recorded in

in all their immense variety from day to day and from hour to hour. Here is to be traced the open and the secret history of the nation ; its transactions at home and abroad ; its most subtle and mysterious negotiations ; the employment of its treasures ; the number and disposition of its forces ; the musters of its population ; the distribution of its land, its forests, and its manors ; the rise and progress of its nobility and great families ; its proceedings in Parliament : its charters, its patents, its civil and criminal judicature. Whatever, in short, this kingdom has for eight centuries done or proposed to do by the complicated functions of its Government and Administration, restless as the sea and multitudinous as the sands upon its shore, is here committed to safe, silent, and impartial witnesses. Stored up in iron gratings, classified and arranged, preserved, as far as human skill can preserve them, from innumerable perils, the public records of this kingdom now slumber in their new repository of stone and iron undisturbed, except when removed from their shelves to gratify the curiosity of the antiquarian or assist the researches of the historian.

With materials so vast, yet so important, two questions have perpetually arisen from early times: first, how are they to be most efficiently preserved ; and next, how turned to the best account. Happily, the nation has suffered little from foreign invasions. Such misfortunes as have overtaken Strassburg, and destroyed its libraries and its manuscripts, are comparatively unknown here. Even in the Civil Wars of the 15th century, and in the Great Rebellion of the 17th, though the rage of party might dismantle or destroy mansions, monasteries, and cathedrals, it left uninjured the national muniments. Whether Romanist or Protestant, Cavalier or Roundhead, gained the ascendancy, all alike in turn respected the archives of the kingdom and preserved them from sacrilegious violence. Their worst enemies have been of an ignobler kind—rats and mice, fire, damp, and mildew : the negligence, in some instances, the misplaced confidence in others, of those who were appointed to preserve them. Dispersed in various quarters of the metropolis, some at the Tower, some at Carlton Ride, some in the Chapter House at Westminster, others at the Rolls House ; exposed to weather, dust, and smoke ; stowed away in sacks, boxes, and hampers ; unmanageable from their vastness and unwieldiness ; little known, and therefore attracting little attention, successive Governments were contented to believe that these muniments were, in some sense preserved, and equally contented that they should be of no use to any one. Careless and ignorant of their value so long as no inquiries were made, every obstacle was multiplied and all access

access was sedulously barred, whenever such access was desired, except in the case of a few favoured inquirers. History in this country has always found devotees and admirers in one guise or another. Even from the time of the Reformation some few, chiefly among the clergy, have busied themselves with historical or biographical or topographical investigations. At no period, not even in the fanatical ascendancy of the gloomiest Puritanism, have the people of England been wholly indifferent to their national antiquities. The love of the past, the appeal to precedent, feudal castles and monastic ruins, parochial and cathedral churches, the visible memorials of former greatness, taste, genius, and faith, have helped to foster this historical spirit. Then, again, the general stability of our English aristocracy and gentry, undisturbed by violent political convulsions, rooted mainly on the same soil, and surrounded for ages by the same tenantry, has handed down the historical traditions of great families from generation to generation and associated them with the sympathies of the living. We need not the statues of the Howards, the Stanleys, and the Cecils: we have their breathing representatives amongst us.

To those who fostered and gratified these national tastes and inclinations, generally at their own cost, and rarely with any expectation of remuneration, a liberal use of the national archives would have been a great boon; as in truth, the freest access to these papers ought to be considered the best justification for the cost bestowed upon their preservation. But their appointed guardians, whose official emoluments depended for the most part on fees levied from inquirers, were not forward in promoting the wishes of antiquarians, nor were Ministers of State much inclined to listen to the applications of students. For any but historical and archaeological purposes, nine-tenths of these papers had long ceased to be of any importance. Modern diplomacy was not liable to be compromised by the revelation of any secrets they contained. All the precautions that prudence required might have been easily secured by laying a prohibition upon such papers only as referred to events subsequent to the Peace of Versailles. But the formalities of office would admit of no such commonplace distinctions. A mysterious belief prevailed that Secretaries of State drank wisdom and inspiration from the despatches of Cardinal Wolsey, or solved the Gordian knot of policy by profound studies of the diplomatic correspondence of the 16th and 17th centuries. Who could tell whether in the debates of the House of Commons ministerial policy might not be assailed, or some question asked, which could not be conveniently parried, without a reference to the State papers of the Tudors or the

the Stuarts? So those who would have turned these papers to the best account were jealously excluded from the use of them. And even when the rule was relaxed by Secretaries of State, like Lord Russell, combining literary taste with statesmanship, when a more liberal spirit was willing to make a partial concession to historians and biographers, the necessity was imposed upon the applicant of strictly defining the nature of his inquiry, the class of papers he proposed to examine, and the exact limits of his search. The interpretation of these conditions was left to the discretion of the keepers or the clerks of the office. It was at their option to produce or keep back whatever documents they pleased, and the inquirer had no remedy. Official catalogues, in many instances, did not exist; in no instance could they be consulted. The system of arrangement varied with the office: not uncommonly in the same office under different keepers. What could an inquirer do, hampered as he was by these restrictions? He might complain; but he had no means of substantiating his complaints. He might suspect; but his suspicions necessarily recoiled upon himself. In defence of a policy so vexatious and so frivolous, nothing could be urged except the old immemorial argument of tyrannical custom. And as, whenever any modification or reform was proposed, they alone were consulted who were most concerned in maintaining abuses, these restrictions bade fair to continue immovable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians. How they were swept away, and a wiser and more gracious system introduced, we shall have to tell hereafter.

But in spite of all these precautions for excluding the public, it was discovered that the great purpose, on which that exclusion was founded, had not been secured. Idle and ignorant curiosity, exposure to the avarice of collectors, the thumbs and fingers of careless readers, may inflict injury and loss on valuable books and papers; but public indifference has always been incomparably more prejudicial. Keepers of libraries and museums grow careless of treasures nobody cares to inspect, and no one inquires after. The true worth of these things is in the eyes and ears of the public, and no precaution is so effectual, no supervision so sure or so searching as publicity. Statesmen in general are too much absorbed in the pressing duties of the day to trouble themselves with the griefs of scholars or the cares of historians. Yet occasionally they have been compelled to rouse themselves from their apathy. As late as the year 1836 a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Charles Buller, to inquire 'into the present state of the Records of the United Kingdom.' The result of their labours is preserved in a portly Blue-book extending to

to 946 pages. Among the witnesses examined on that occasion was Mr. Henry Cole, and this is the description he then gave of the condition of one class of the public muniments, under the old system of exclusion: 'Some (he says) were in a state of inseparable adhesion to the stone walls; there were numerous fragments which had only just escaped entire consumption by vermin, and many were in the last stage of putrefaction. Decay and damp had rendered a large quantity so fragile, as hardly to admit of being touched; others, particularly those in the form of rolls, were so coagulated together, that they could not be uncoiled. Six or seven perfect skeletons of rats (exhibited by the witness to the Committee) were found imbedded, and bones of these vermin were generally distributed throughout the mass' (Report, p. 427). After so racy a description, our readers will be prepared to hear of the minor evils of dirt, soot, neglect, and disorder. 'Sackfuls of records' are described by one witness as tumbling on the floor, others 'literally covered with filth.' Another witness produces a mass of documents 'in a state of actual fusion.' The doors and cases were insecure, the depositories 'dirty as a chimney-sweeper's room.' Large quantities of parchments 'were purloined and sold to the glue-manufacturers.'

Such were the results of a system when the public were jealously excluded from the use of the national records and the custodians of them were answerable to no regulations except to those of their own devising. Nor were these isolated instances confined to the last generation. Century after century reveals the same story of dirt, waste, and destruction, of inefficient keepers, of careless and penurious governments, of spasmodic attempts at reform, followed by long intervals of inactivity and neglect. Complaints of the disorderly condition of the public records and the want of proper Calendars, date as far back as the Chancellorship of Bishop Stapleton, in the reign of Edward II. In the days of Elizabeth numerous documents had disappeared for years, until they were accidentally discovered by Master Hobby 'searching for a place to put gunpowder in.' When Charles II., in a fit of politic good humour, appointed Prynne, whose ears had been cropped for the freedom of his satire in the days of Charles I., Keeper of His Majesty's Records in the Tower, the following pungent account was rendered by the new Custodian to his royal benefactor: 'No sooner received I your royal patent for the custody of your ancient Records in your Tower of London . . . but I designed and endeavoured to rescue the greatest part of them from that desolation and corruption in which . . . they had for many years, for a large part, lain bound together in one confused chaos, under corroding putrefying

putrefying cobwebs, dust and filth, in the darkest corner of Caesar's Chapel in the White Tower, as mere useless relics not worthy to be calendared or brought down thence into the office amongst other Records of use. In order thereunto I employed many soldiers and women to remove and cleanse them from their filthiness, who, soon growing weary of this noisome work, left them almost as foul as they found them.' 'In raking up this dunghill,' continues Prynne, 'according to my expectation I found many rare, ancient, precious pearls and golden Records. . . . with many original Bulls of Popes (some of them under seal), letters to and from Popes, Cardinals, and the Court of Rome, besides sundry rare antiquities, specially relating to the Parliaments of England.* Even as late as the reign of George III. large masses of public papers had so effectually disappeared that their very existence was forgotten. In 1763, Mr. Edwards tells us,† an officer of the Board of Trade had occasion to refer to certain documents of the age of Charles I., and applied for that purpose to the Privy Council office. Nothing was known there of the papers or even of the office to which they belonged; 'but a venerable clerk had a dim recollection that he had heard, in his youth, of the existence of some old books in the room near the gateway of Whitehall, and suggested a search, which, after many adventures with decayed staircases, locksmiths, flocks of pigeons, and accumulations of filth, proved eventually to be successful.'

So much for the way in which the government of this country had settled to its own satisfaction, until very recently, one question of paramount importance, the preservation of our national papers, or, to adopt the euphuistic phraseology of Mr. Charles Buller's Committee, 'had manifested their solicitude for the safety of the Public Records.'

But it is time to turn to another branch of our inquiry, and examine what attempts have been made by the Government of this country to render its imperial muniments more generally accessible. Towards this result a most important preliminary step has been taken within the last few years. Formerly dispersed in twenty or thirty different localities, all the public papers of the nation have now been happily concentrated in one spot. They are no longer exposed to the perils of decay or mildew; neither 'rats nor mice' find harbour now among royal letters or accounts of the wardrobe; efficient precautions have been taken against theft, negligence, and disorder. Another reform not less important and beneficial to literary inquirers has been recently introduced. Under the old system, the public property of the

* Edwards, p. 261.

† Ibid., p. 201.

nation,

nation, by some extraordinary delusion, had come to be regarded as the private property of its custodians, and as held by them for their exclusive emolument. Indexes and Calendars, made in official hours, were considered as the 'private and marketable property' of the clerks and keepers. It was their object, naturally enough, to sell their services at the highest possible rate; to exclude the public from consulting the Records except through the one accredited channel; to keep all information to themselves, or so overlay it with extraneous matter, that their own emoluments might experience no diminution. 'The fees for searches,' says Mr. Edwards,* 'ranged in amount from two guineas to ten. The Calendars were usually worded in an equivocal and misleading way, expressly to whet the searcher's appetite. Fresh searches brought new fees. If a paragraph of a few words only in the long-sought document would fully answer the patient searcher's purpose, he could not have it. To the essential line or two were united, with Mezentian rigour, hundreds or perhaps thousands of dreary lines, that brought no information to the searcher, but brought in some cases a hundred guineas or so to the officer. It is still remembered that on one such occasion, when, after payment of multitudinous fees, caused by the ingenious construction of the Calendars, and by other cognate circumstances, the precious paragraph was at length disinterred and the weary and well-nigh disheartened fee-payer asked, finally, how much a copy of that paragraph would cost, the obliging functionary turned over the membranes, made his mental calculation, and in a gravely official tone replied, "*one hundred and forty-five pounds, Sir!*"'

These extortionate and vexatious regulations have now been swept away. Access to the State Papers and public ministrants is as free and unfettered as to the manuscripts of the British Museum. Every inquirer may inspect whatever papers or parchments he pleases. He may take whatever copies he requires without restriction. On presenting his card to the Deputy Keeper, the treasures of the Record Office are thrown open to his use and inspection. In all these respects the liberal regulations at the new repository present a striking contrast to those of any other country. In France, the papers of the Foreign Office (*Archives des Affaires Etrangères*) cannot be approached, except through the medium of numerous rigid formalities. No copies are allowed, not even pencil memoranda, of any documents, however remote, or however disconnected with modern politics. The visitor might as well request permission to examine the sacred volumes of the Imperial correspondence, in its green velvet and gold bindings, as

* P. 299.

extort permission from the rigid archivist to take an extract from the despatches of Marillac or Chatillon, whose ambassadorial functions date from the Reformation. At Brussels it is not much better. At Vienna, at least until a recent period, the correspondence relating to Wallenstein and the Thirty Years' War was jealously withheld. At Madrid the chance of pursuing historical inquiries is precarious and capricious. Nowhere is the privilege of reading or copying the national State Papers and correspondence so full and unreserved as in England. Nowhere is the reader more at his ease; less fettered by restrictions, or made less painfully sensible of the obligations conferred upon him. In all these respects Lord Romilly has left nothing to be desired.

Here then it must be admitted that a great advance has been made, with the sanction of the Government, in the direction pointed out by Mr. Buller's committee; far greater, perhaps, than the most sanguine member of that committee could ever have anticipated. For the preservation of the public records all has been done that was required. For making those records useful and accessible to the nation, we have something more than a good beginning. And yet not more than a beginning. For imagine a reader turned adrift without handbook, catalogue, or index of any kind, into a library of half a million of manuscripts of which he knows neither the titles nor the contents. By what intuition, by what prophetical insight, can he expect to discover what he wants? How is he to select from the vast and heterogeneous masses such papers as immediately bear upon his own researches? Without guide or index it is impossible for him to know whether further inquiry will be rewarded with success, or further examination will confirm or contradict his previous impressions. Catalogues are therefore indispensable, were it for no other reason than that of giving efficiency to the privilege of consulting these collections, conceded by the Government and sanctioned by the nation. It is absurd to collect and preserve our national muniments, at a great cost, and then suffer them to fall a prey to neglect and vermin. It is absurd still, if possible, to build a National Record Office at a vast cost* for storing these muniments, and yet exclude the public from consulting and using them. But absurdlest of all is it to concede this right, to incur all these expenses, and then neutralise them all, by withholding the only means that are required for rendering the privilege real and effectual. The preparation of indexes and catalogues may be the last step in the

* The first block of the New Record Office cost 88,490*l.*, and there are four more blocks to come according to the designs of the architect.

process, it is the first in the convenience of the reader, and it is more indispensable to him than any other. It is of less consequence to him how papers are arranged or where they are placed, provided only he can obtain a correct knowledge of their contents. Without this knowledge, the most exquisite order, the most perfect arrangement, are no better than a sealed fountain. It might have been right for the Committee of the House of Commons to direct, as a first and principal requirement, that the public muniments should be methodised and arranged. As a preliminary step to their due preservation, as a foundation for future operations, no advice could be sounder. But to arrange and methodise with no intention to ulterior proceedings, to arrange and methodise with no view to use, is both wasteful and preposterous. To erect a vast and cumbrous machine, of many parts, at a heavy cost, and then withhold the only thing requisite to make it work, is neither wise nor economical. Two courses were open to the Government; either to have left the records in their original state, abandoning all idea of a General Record Office, or by a wise and judicious liberality to justify the expenditure incurred in its erection by making these records available for the studies of historians and biographers; of all, in short, who are interested in the use of them. The Government has adopted the latter alternative. We think not only wisely, but with the full sanction of the nation. It has incurred no inconsiderable expense in building a general Record Repository. It has appointed officers to superintend and carry on the necessary operations. To give effect to these measures, to justify what has been done, indexes and catalogues are indispensable.

But here is the difficulty. If previous keepers had framed catalogues of these papers and parchments in the first instance; if their successors, as their stores accumulated, had done what is now doing under the Master of the Rolls, the task would have been comparatively easy. On the other hand, the neglect of centuries has now to be repaired. Documents of the greatest value and interest have increased from year to year, until the new building, spacious as it is, has grown already too narrow for its accumulating hoards. Hundreds of busy heads and hands at the Home, the Foreign and Colonial Office, at the Treasury, the War Office and the Admiralty, in the Chancery, the King's Bench, and the various Law Courts, are daily and hourly engaged with Cyclopean activity in copying or ingrossing innumerable sheets of paper and parchment, doomed eventually to find their last resting-place in the new Record Office. How to grapple with the enormous mass, how to select from such multifarious collections, what catalogues to make and how to make them,

them, are grave and puzzling questions. Equally puzzling is it to know how to satisfy the wants and requirements of all, or of the greatest number of readers. One man is exclusively interested in the problems of history, another is wholly indifferent to such speculations. This man is investigating the genealogy or ramifications of some great family; another is inquiring into the variations of prices; a third wishes to discover the relations of land and capital, the improvement or deterioration of labour, the social development or decline of this class of the population or of that. The materials required by one set of readers are of no interest to another. Who shall decide upon such conflicting claims? Each has something to urge in his own behalf, and all may light upon discoveries of great moment to the present or future welfare of this country.

Then with what class of record shall the work of indexing commence, supposing that competent hands can be found to undertake the task of making Catalogues or Calendars? For, commonplace as such labour may appear to be, it demands qualifications of a peculiar kind not readily met with; extreme accuracy, unwearyed diligence, a thorough knowledge of the subject, tact and judgment to discriminate what is important and essential from what is not. If the funds for such a work were unlimited, it might be easy to satisfy all demands. But that is not to be expected. All that can be done is to apply the annual grant voted by Parliament in the most economical and judicious manner. Whether this has been done or not we now propose to inquire.

Of the vast multitude of papers deposited at the Rolls, some are exclusively legal and technical; others historical and diplomatic, like the 'State Papers' proper; others miscellaneous relating to the Exchequer—an ample category embracing in its comprehensive range all that relates to the treasures, revenues, finances of the Crown and the country; issues and receipts; subsidies, mint, wardrobe and household accounts; works and public buildings; blood-money, secret service, forest accounts, and the like. To these must be added the papers of the Admiralty, the War Office, the old court of the Star Chamber, and others of minor importance.

Even for an uninitiated reader, it would scarcely be difficult to judge of the relative value and attractiveness of these various classes of documents, numerous and perplexing as they seem: and if he had any doubts, they might be removed by turning over the pages of any popular living historian. The correspondence of kings, of statesmen, of ambassadors, takes precedence of all others; for without them the great drama of history, the intrigues

of Cabinets, the moving incidents of flood and field, are nothing better than an unmeaning panorama and dumb show. Historians have sometimes been laughed at for their almost exclusive affection for heroes, kings, and demi-gods. It has become a fashion of late to insist upon social and economical questions, the rate of wages, the prices of food, the distribution of wealth, the laws that determine the development of humanity, as more suited to the functions of philosophic history, as if kings were of less importance to us than 'their tax-gatherers.' But so long as the world will persist in thinking that, in the history of the Tudor times, it cannot dispense with Henry VIII., his wives and his ministers, or in that of Mary and Elizabeth, with the fires of Smithfield and the Spanish Armada, or in that of the Stuarts with Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell; so long as history will gather round the actions and lives of individual men events of the greatest interest to all, and send its readers to sleep when it assumes the garb of philosophy, so long will the historian stick to the concrete elements of flesh and blood, and value mainly, if not exclusively, those materials which are in this way best suited to his purpose.

Perhaps it was out of deference to some such feeling as this that the Master of the Rolls was guided in selecting the papers and correspondence of the State Paper Office for commencing his operations. On the 7th of December, 1855, Sir John Romilly addressed a letter to the Lords of the Treasury, stating 'That although the Records, State Papers, and documents in his charge constituted the most complete and perfect series of their kind in the civilised world, and were of the greatest value in a historical and constitutional point of view, they were comparatively useless to the public from the want of proper Calendars and Indexes.' He added that, in order to effect this object, it would be necessary for him to employ a few persons fully qualified to perform the work which he contemplated. The Treasury assented to the proposal, and from that period is to be dated the commencement of that class of the Rolls publications known by the somewhat vague and unattractive appellation of 'Calendars of State Papers.' Of the editors employed by the Master of the Rolls four were already in the service of the Government, Mr. Lemon, Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Sainsbury. To Mr. Lemon were entrusted the Domestic papers of the reign of Elizabeth, to Mr. Thorpe the Scottish papers from 1509 to 1603, to Mr. Hamilton the Irish, and to Mr. Sainsbury the Colonial Series.'

Of the editors taken from out of doors, the Domestic papers of the reign of James I. were committed to Mrs. Green, those of Charles I. to the late Mr. Bruce, the Foreign papers of the reign of Elizabeth to Mr. Stevenson, who has since resigned, and the entire correspondence of the reign of Henry VIII. (which could not be divided, like the others, into separate series) to Mr. Brewer. On the death of Mr. Lemon the papers of Elizabeth were transferred to Mrs. Green, who had already completed her 'Calendar of the State Papers of James I.'

Of these Calendars forty-five volumes have already appeared; eight of them edited by official, and thirty-seven by unofficial editors. This disparity is not to be attributed to any deficiency of zeal and ability on the part of the former, but to the fact of their being employed on official duties from which the non-official editors are exempt. It must, however, be considered as a complete justification of the Master of the Rolls in asking, and of the Lords of the Treasury in granting, the supplementary assistance required by Lord Romilly. If the work had been left to official editors alone, it is clear from the rate of progress that a century must have elapsed before any one series of these Calendars could have been completed.

For the prosecution of this work the Treasury grants an annual sum of 1500*l.* Two editors, in addition to those already mentioned, are employed abroad; Senor Gavangos, in the place of the late Mr. Bergenroth, and Mr. Rawdon Brown at Venice.

On the manner in which the several editors have executed their tasks we do not propose to enter. After selecting men of ability and known experience, the Master of the Rolls did wisely in prescribing the fewest general rules, sufficient to ensure a certain degree of uniformity, but leaving to each editor a discretion and freedom as to details. It must be satisfactory to the nation and to Lord Romilly to find that his judgment in this respect has been justified by the result; and the use already made of these works by the public journals and the approbation bestowed on them is the best proof of his sound discretion. Already they have furnished new details and more correct views, not only to the grave historian, but to writers catering, like the Messrs. Chambers, for wholesome instruction or amusement for the passing hour. Popular they are never likely to be, in the full meaning of the word, for a 'Calendar of State Papers' conveys to many readers no other idea than that of a dry and colourless abstract of formal diplomatic papers. As Acts of Parliament and international treaties are papers of State, all State papers, in ordinary estimation, must be something like Acts of Parliament

or antiquated diplomacy. It never seems to have occurred to those who think thus, that as Kings and Queens, at least in earlier times, could have no individual existence apart from the State, the knowledge of their personal history is mainly to be derived from their correspondence, that is, from their State papers.

But the popular notion of the dryness and repulsiveness of diplomatic documents is founded on the common misapprehension that they are exclusively concerned with grave affairs of State, whereas, in fact, they descend to the minutest details of social life and domestic manners; and for this sufficient reason. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was the custom of the Government of this country to confiscate all the letters and papers of attainted persons, without distinction. Thus it was that the diaries, the household accounts, the private correspondence of the accused were transferred to the Exchequer, and there they remain to the present day. Imagine such a process as this suddenly put in force against a nobleman or statesman in this century. Imagine the correspondence of the husband and the wife, their household bills, their rent-books, their private journals, seized unexpectedly and religiously preserved in some government office. Could any personal history be more various or more minute? Such was the process not once but frequently repeated in the reigns of the Tudors; in such a reign especially as that of Henry VIII., when every individual of the nation was violently tossed from side to side; and every foremost leader was brought in succession to the block. Whether they were nobles, like Buckingham or Henry Howard Earl of Surrey—whether ministers of the highest station, like Wolsey and Cromwell, trusted with State secrets—whether criminals of lofty rank, or inferior agents, their private papers and correspondence, with the rest of their property, escheated to the State; and though their lands might be restored, much of their correspondence was detained, and remains to this day in the national archives. Thus it is that all kinds of miscellaneous information, familiar letters, tutors', tailors', shoemakers', and even milliners' bills; the daily, personal, and household accounts, the passing gossip and speculations of the time, have joined company with instructions to ambassadors, projects of alliance, the deep mysteries of State, the fall of princes and the death-warrants of nobles. So the tragedy and comedy of the world has been blended together strangely and grotesquely enough by the natural operation of the law, and not from any system or contrivance.

And even in regard to the purely diplomatic correspondence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which lively and ignorant critics affect to speak with so much disdain, it must be remembered

remembered that ambassadors and statesmen in these earlier ages condescended to the humbler functions of 'Special Correspondents.' Newspapers at this day hold a part, and not the least essential, in diplomacy. A correspondent at the seat of war is a lay ambassador, who sends home, for the benefit of the ministry, information as precise, as trustworthy, as secret, as expeditious, as any that is received at the Foreign Office. Probably more so; probably a wise and sagacious minister is enabled to test more accurately the pulse of the times, to fathom more precisely the tide of public opinion, by these unofficial than by the gravest official reports. But when no such means of information existed in the days of the Tudors and the first Stuarts, ambassadors themselves acted as caterers of news; they were 'Special Correspondents' for their own Courts. What plenipotentiary, now-a-days, would not think it beneath the dignity of his vocation to transmogrify a description of the personal appearance of the Sovereign to whom he was accredited; of the shape of his leg or the colour of his beard, the dress he wore at church or on horseback, how he rode or how he walked, what were his pastimes and the manners of his court, the age and features of his wife and children, the fashions, the foibles, the ceremonies, the banquets, the gossip in and out of doors, the thousand little personal traits of character, the innumerable small details which give life and animation to history? Such topics are too trivial for the purple and fine linen of modern diplomatists. It would fall wholly beneath its dignity to record how Henry VIII. gave 4*d.* to a boy to throw up his cap for a snow-balling; how Anne Boleyn was mobbed by a crowd of angry women as she sat in a bower with her royal paramour; how her daughter, Queen Elizabeth, with her *beaux yeux* and her Latin terrified the outlandish ambassador; how her successor James I. hated cold water; or how his son Charles I. demeaned himself with Henrietta Maria? The liveliest materials of history have been banished now-a-days to newspaper paragraphs and special correspondents; but it was not so then. For then it was as much a part of an ambassador's function to cater news for his royal master, as to worm out the secrets of government, to send home as faithful an account of the ordinary doings and talk of the times, as of the combinations of kings and statesmen. In illustration of these remarks we submit the following extracts, taken from Mr. Brown's 'Venetian Calendar,' not because they are more exclusively interesting than many others, but because readers of Shakespere, who may not be readers of history, may more easily judge what sort of information is to be found in these Calendars. The writer refers to an entertainment given in 1527 by Cardinal Wolsey:—

'I wrote

‘ I wrote to you on the first, transmitting the King’s reply to Luther’s letter. Last evening I was present at a very sumptuous supper, given by Cardinal Wolsey, there being amongst the guests the Papal, French, and Venetian ambassadors, and the chief nobility of the English Court. I considered myself out of place beside a very beautiful damsels, each of the guests having one to his share. During the supper the King arrived, with a very gallant company of masqueraders, and his Majesty, after presenting himself to the Cardinal, threw a mask at dice, and then unmasked, as did all his companions; whereupon he withdrew to sup in one of the Cardinal’s chambers, the rest of the guests continuing their repast, with such variety of the choicest viands and wines as to be marvellous.

‘ Supper being ended, they proceeded to the first hall, with which you are well acquainted, and when a very well designed stage had been prepared on which the Cardinal’s gentlemen recited Plautus’ Latin comedy, entitled the ‘Menaechmi.’ On its conclusion, all the actors, one after the other, presented themselves to the King, and on their knees recited to him some more and some less, Latin verses in his praise. Having listened to them all, the King betook himself with the rest of the guests to the hall where they had all supped, the tables (at which they seated themselves in the same order as before) being spread with every sort of confection, whereof they partook.

‘ After the marvellous collation a stage was displayed, on which sat Venus, at whose feet were six damsels, forming so graceful a group for her footstool, that it looked as if she and they had really come down in person from heaven. And whilst everybody was intently gazing upon so agreeable a sight, the trumpets flourished, and a car appeared drawn by three boys stark naked, on which was Cupid, dragging after him, bound by a silver rope, six old men, clad in the pastoral fashion, but the material was cloth of silver and white satin. Cupid presented them to his mother, delivering a most elegant Latin oration to their praise, saying they had been cruelly wounded; whereupon Venus compassionately replied in equally choice language, and caused the six nymphs, the sweethearts of the six old men, to descend, commanding them to afford their lovers all solace, and requite them for past pangs. Each of the nymphs was then taken by the hand by her lover, and to the sound of trumpets they performed a very beautiful dance. On its termination the King and his favourites commenced another with the ladies there present, and with this the entertainment and the night ended, for it was already day-break. I then went home sated with so much revelry, and am dispatching a public letter for the Signory, to be given to Sir John Russell, now on the eve of departing for France on his way to the Pope.’

London, 4th January, 1527.

The second extract refers to the same Cardinal after his fall.

‘ On the 11th ultimo, I wrote account of current events here, and most especially of the recent arrest of Cardinal Wolsey. Subsequently the King, having determined on his removal to this castle of London (i.e. from

(i.e. from York), sent Captain Kingston with his guard to effect it. On arriving at a place sixty miles hence (*sic*) he found the Cardinal very ill, and in bed, so that the day before he had confessed and communicated; and although the captain exhorted him to hope for the best from the King's clemency, declaring that he was to convey him at his entire convenience, and that he might remain where he was so long as he pleased, yet at the end of two days he departed this life, at the close of which he drew a deep and loud sigh; and some six hours afterwards there was put into the earth that personage who had prepared for his remains a more costly mausoleum than any royal or papal monument in the world, so that the King intends it to serve for himself, *post multos et felices annos*, having caused the Cardinal's arms to be erased from it.

'It is said that his right reverend lordship's indisposition was preceded by two very bad symptoms. When first arrested, owing to mental depression, he would take no food, *nisi carthus*, and then came flux, and he could not retain anything in his stomach. According to report, his mind never wandered at the last, and on seeing Captain Kingston, he made his attendants raise him in his bed, where he knelt; and whenever he heard the King's name he bowed his head, putting his face downwards. He then asked Captain Kingston where his guards were, and being answered that lodging was provided for them in several chambers on the ground floor of the palace (*palacei*), he requested they might all be sent for into his presence. So as many having entered as the place would hold, he raised himself as much as he could, saying that on the day before he had taken the Sacrament, and expected soon to find himself before the supreme Judgment seat, so that at such an extremity, he ought not to fail speaking the truth, or leave any other opinion of him than such as was veracious; adding, "I pray God that Sacrament may be to the damnation of my soul, if ever I thought to do disservice to my King," and so on.'

But besides the circumstantiality and vividness of detail, the documents contained in these Calendars have the advantage of being contemporary with the events they record. They reproduce not only the facts but the very atmosphere of the past, with a fidelity no imagination can realise, however powerful. The ablest of modern histories are necessarily tinged with the passions and prejudices of the historian, with the spirit and thoughts of his own times. The more strongly he sympathises with his own age, the more dramatic his faculties, the more creative his fancy, the stronger is his propensity, the more irresistible his temptation to invest the past with the colours and drapery of the present. The best are liable to this weakness, whilst inferior writers rather glory in it than attempt to avoid it. They falsify and exaggerate from design, as the readiest means of attracting popularity. But these Calendars furnish the best corrective for this tendency. Occupied solely with the passing current of events, steeped exclusively

clusively in the passions and prejudices of the past, and with the thoughts and emotions awakened by them, contemporary letters reproduce for modern readers not only the acts but the agents, as they lived and felt, as they trod this earth, with their schemes and devices, their hopes, their ambition and their fears. Theirs is the glistening of 'real eyes,' the aches of real hearts, but of eyes and hearts as they glistened and ached in days long gone by. These are the advantages of contemporaneous letters and journals—of papers such as these Calendars contain. They may not be history, but they are the truest and most authentic materials for history. They are the sources to which the historian must resort for the clearest, the most correct, the most satisfactory information.

If, then, the Master of the Rolls and the Government had done no more to make such materials accessible they would have deserved the gratitude of the nation. Something they were bound to do. They could not allow the public free access to these papers without providing a catalogue of some sort, for the due use as well as for the needful security of such invaluable collections. One Committee of the House of Commons after another had insisted upon this as a chief and primary obligation. 'Public indexes and calendars should be completed forthwith, either by the ordinary diligence of the persons usually employed for the purpose, in each office, or, if necessary, by extra assistance provided by public expense,' is the recommendation of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed as far back as 1800, reinforced and reiterated by the Select Committee of 1836. Yet, towards this necessary and indeed imperative measure, no steps were taken until within a recent period. The necessity was urgent; for without catalogues and indexes these national documents might as well be buried in the tombs of the Capulets, and, until catalogues are completed, all other means for diffusing a knowledge of these papers must be not only incomplete but unsatisfactory.

This raises a question whether it would not have been more acceptable to the public, as some have thought, if the money now expended on Calendars had been devoted to printing the documents themselves, or, at least, a selection from them. In determining this question, it must be remembered that no selection would have answered the primary purpose of the Calendars. The necessity would still have remained of compiling indexes of the public papers, sufficiently copious to satisfy the purposes of literary inquirers, and save the needless wear and tear of delicate documents, many of which are in a frail and perishable condition, catalogues sufficiently distinct to identify the papers when needed, and produce them when required; and, lastly, to prevent

prevent loss and embezzlement. It was not absolutely necessary for these purposes that such Calendars should be printed; but then it would have been requisite to multiply copies of them in manuscript; and no manuscript calendar can ever be so handy or so complete, or so useful to the public as a printed one. The main object of making the records of the kingdom and their contents better known would have been in great measure overlooked. Readers in foreign lands, or at a distance from the metropolis—and they are generally those who have most leisure and inclination for historical studies—would have been virtually excluded from the benefit. How great is the disadvantage of a manuscript calendar as compared with a printed one, is evident from the spare and meagre use of those papers in the British Museum, of which only a manuscript calendar exists. Even in point of economy, it is very doubtful whether in the end a manuscript catalogue has any advantage over a printed one, whereas, in all other respects, its inferiority is too manifest to admit of dispute.

But a stronger argument on this head remains, and one which appears to us conclusive. During the last five centuries and a half the history of our State Papers and our national Records is a series of prodigious efforts made at long intervals by energetic keepers and enlightened Governments to rescue them from gross neglect, disorder, and embezzlement, followed by most unfortunate relapses. The labours of men like the Master of the Rolls, alive to the value of the collections committed to their charge, and desirous of consulting the truest interests of the nation, have collapsed more than once under less enlightened and less active successors. Their reforms have fallen into abeyance, and old abuses have regained their former supremacy. We do not anticipate such a destiny for Lord Romilly's labours. We do not anticipate that some future Record historian will have to say of them what he has to say now of the reforms of Chancellor Stapleton, of Lambarde, of Prynne, of George Grenville, of Lord Colchester, of every one, in short, who ever grappled manfully with the abuses of our Record Offices, that their efforts were transient and fruitless. It is not to be imagined that, some thirty years hence, a Committee of the House of Commons will produce a Report of documents consigned to disorder and oblivion, of manuscripts stowed away in forgotten pigeon-holes and neglected corners; but this we will say—or rather Mr. Edwards shall say it for us—that 'the systematic preparation of calendars for the public use, and for the public use alone, are obviously the sufficient and only remedies' against such fatal contingencies. It is only by printed Calendars of our national papers, which men can take home and con over in the leisure of their studies, that the value of these papers

papers can be fully appreciated. It is only by such Calendars and the researches suggested by them, that the almost inevitable tendency of these papers to get mislaid or forgotten can be effectually counteracted. And as there are no manuscripts at home, or even abroad, in public or in private, at all comparable to our own in historic importance, and none so intimately connected with our national credit, so there are none which have a stronger claim on the attention and liberality of the Government.

There must then be Official Calendars of the whole collection for office purposes, and no selection of documents will satisfy these requirements. If they can be made besides generally useful to the public, that is a gain, and that utility has been one object of the Master of the Rolls. As Keeper of these Records, as bound by the repeated recommendations of the House of Commons, calendars and inventories for the better use and safer custody of the Records under his charge were with Lord Romilly a primary obligation. Nor until such calendars have been completed is it easy to see how any satisfactory selection can be made. Supposing, what is hardly probable, that all who were interested in consulting these papers could agree upon a principle of selection, long before such a selection had approached its completion new papers would have turned up, additions and alterations would have had to be made, a new series would be required to supplement the first, whilst the varying tastes, pursuits, and requirements of many readers would have remained unsatisfied. Hardly any two judges would be found to agree why this document should be selected and that rejected. Nor indeed is it possible for the most skilful to lay down abstract rules as to the relative importance of any class of historical papers. Their real importance cannot always be measured until they are viewed in their connexion with others. Their true meaning and value are not patent at first sight, nor perhaps until subsequent researches have long after flashed an alien light upon them, and invested with an unexpected gravity what by itself seemed trivial and unimportant. In all researches of this kind no editor can be trusted to select for another. He may methodize, index, and catalogue, leaving the inquirer to sift his materials and push his investigations further, if needful; but the task of selection each man must undertake for himself. With a thoughtful historian that selection will vary at every stage of his investigation—at every hour when fresh light dawns upon him. What at first filled him with rapture, he will upon maturer inquiry reject; what seemed insignificant at first sight, tedious and even repulsive, will often commend itself to his riper judgment; for of history it is true what Bacon said of physical causes:

‘It

‘It cometh often to pass that mean and small things discover great, better than great can discover the small.’ As to the other alternative of publishing all documents indiscriminately at full length, we prefer to quote the able remarks of Mr. Tytler, the Historian of Scotland:—

‘To print all the records and muniments. . . . would require an enormous sum; so it comes to a choice or balance between having a correct knowledge of the contents of all the records and letters, illustrating English history, and having a small corner of our history, perhaps extending to twenty or thirty years illustrated by the Records themselves. No historians familiar with the use of original materials would hesitate, I think, to use the Catalogues. By them he would be enabled to collect all the scattered lights which might illustrate the general History of England from a large mass of original documents. In the other way he would acquire a minute knowledge of a very curtailed portion; but the lights thrown upon important points of history within this portion would be proportionably scanty. Besides this, it is evident that were the whole, or even the greater portion of the records to be printed, it would only be the substitution of an unfathomable sea of “print” for an unfathomable sea of “Manuscript.” In the end, to render such a mass available to the historian, catalogues and indexes, with a brief analysis of the documents, would be found necessary. Thus, at last, you must have *Catalogues raisonnés*. Would it not be easier and far less expensive to have them at first? Again, when any serious difficulty or obscure point occurs, a historian, in his anxiety for truth, must inspect the original. Hence he may in many instances dispense with printing the record or letter itself, but without the catalogue he remains ignorant of its existence. The advantages of first making catalogues are also great when viewed in connexion with the plan of afterwards printing a selection of the records themselves. Being once acquainted with the whole mass of records, letters, state papers, &c., in short, all the materials illustrating the civil, ecclesiastical, or constitutional history of the country, this selection will be made under the most favourable circumstances. The most valuable for the purpose of history will be chosen, and thereto will be the greatest chance of all being printed from originals. Lastly, the benefits resulting from this plan of forming catalogues, will be most important in checking the progress of historical error.’ *

These arguments appear to us unanswerable. But whilst there is one class of critics who set such an inordinate value on our public muniments that nothing will satisfy them short of printing all at full length, there is an opposite class who reject them all as equally unworthy of credit. They are possessed by a strange notion that of all historical evidences State Papers are the least trust-

* Report of Select Committee, p. 715.

worthy.

worthy. It is the fixed creed of these objectors that statesmen and ambassadors indulged in a perpetual masquerade, and joined in a general combination to hide the truth, not only from the public—which might appear plausible—but from each other—which must appear absurd. Without, then, insisting on the fact that State Papers were secret papers, never intended for the public eye, and therefore not likely to offer any temptation or advantage for disguise, what possible motive, it may be asked, could there be for a foreign ambassador in a foreign Court to pervert the facts which fell under his own observation? Why should the Spanish, the French, or the Venetian envoys residing in England transmit to their respective governments studious misrepresentations of what was passing around them? That would have been to neutralize the very purpose of their mission, and unquestionably have exposed them at once to disgrace and dismissal. Or, if such had been the practice of any one of them, can it be imagined that all were embarked in the same ridiculous plot? Did all combine in the same tale of misrepresentation, and were all their despatches written by consent in a sort of ambassadorial conclave? If the inconsistency displayed in their separate reports and despatches would certainly have betrayed them. It is hardly needful to expose seriously so transparent a sophism—so transparent indeed and so absurd, that it could never have been entertained for a moment by any one who possessed any real knowledge of the subject, or had taken the trouble to verify his suspicions. Ambassadors, like other men, have their national and individual prejudices. They are liable to be misled by those about them. They are exposed to the temptation of sending home their own views of the facts, and of selecting those facts which are most in accordance with their own prepossessions and their own interests. Statesmen have objects to be gained by diplomacy and state-craft, the free use of which they consider legitimate; and no one in reading their reports would accept them all implicitly as simple, unbiased representations of the truth. But the same objection will apply to every kind of correspondence, oral or verbal. Dr. Johnson's conversation is no more to be received for a faithful representation of Whiggery than the journal of Whitelock or the Presbyterian Dr. Baillie is to be regarded as an accurate description of Charles I. and the Cavaliers. The thoughts and the writings of politicians, like those of other men, are variously coloured by passion, by prejudice, by employment, by party, by the desire of success or the fear of discomfiture. Are they for this reason absolutely and entirely false? If the historian is to reject them on this ground, he must equally reject all testimony; and all history, whether of his own

own or of any other time, becomes impossible. But the correspondence of statesmen is not more distorted by prejudice and falsehood than that of ordinary men, not even when engaged in some diplomatic intrigue they may have wished to deceive the outside world; for though they might hide their real intentions from others, they could have no object in deceiving their own agents and ambassadors. Outside the charmed circle the world is deluded and deceived, but once within it and all things appear in their true colours. This is the advantage of such publications as these *Calendars*. They take the reader behind the scenes; they lay bare before him the puppets and the real men, the phantasies and the facts, the true and ostensible motives. If there be deceit, they furnish him with the means of detecting it. They enable him to divide the false from the true. Moreover, they supply him with the cross lines of evidence; they furnish the means of comparing statement with statement, of confronting one witness with another. Testimony may be false, events in history may be perverted, mathematical accuracy is nowhere attainable; but society stands on no better testimony than this. Its contracts, its laws, its dealings, and its obligations rest on no surer foundation. Does any man question its sufficiency in the actual business of life? Then why should he doubt its sufficiency for the past?

So long indeed as the old and exclusive system prevailed, there was a tendency among historians, in their triumphant possession of a few diplomatic papers, to rear specious and paradoxical theories on the slender and barren foundation of a very small number of original discoveries. Some inquirer, more careful or more fortunate than others, had the good fortune to enrich his pages with extracts from the national archives. Through their help he has been enabled to discover new facts, to remove antiquated prejudices, to place past events in a clearer and more certain light. Confident in their support, it was natural that he should overrate their importance in their novelty. The tendency to convert history into a panorama of brilliant and disconnected pictures, often exaggerated in themselves, still more exaggerated from the disproportionate prominence assigned to them, was naturally fostered by the possession of a few contemporaneous documents in which the authenticity and minuteness of the facts, or the unexpected revelations afforded by them, contrasted strangely with the cold, meagre, and uncertain outlines of the accepted and traditional belief; and thus, naturally, comprehensiveness of view and justness of conception were too often sacrificed to brilliancy of detail and richness of matter. But whereas formerly, in consequence of strict official restrictions, a few

few ears only could be gleaned, now a whole harvest is offered to the world; where access to a few papers and liberty to print them was fettered by vexatious regulations, thousands are now thrown open to view.

Were there, then, no other advantage to be gained from these Calendars of the Master of the Rolls, it is no slight one that in placing before the reader the whole facts, so far as they can be known, they set before him the order in which these facts occurred, their connexion, and their relative proportions. For history generally a more just and equitable treatment is thus secured; a more careful and considerate adjustment of all its parts. Hasty and imaginative writers are thus deterred from imposing their own conceptions upon their readers, and careless ones from wandering too far from the plain truth without control or fear of detection. Till now readers had no alternative except to surrender themselves implicitly to the guidance of the historian who could move their feelings and enlist their sympathies most strongly, if not always by the most just and legitimate means. No means were at hand for testing the fidelity of their guide or the certainty of the path through which he was leading them. It could not be expected that they should submit to the same laborious process, or prosecute researches amidst obscure and confused documents, or reconcile contradictory statements, or determine the weight of conflicting evidence. It was not possible for them to ascertain when the historian had abandoned the calm impartiality of the judge for the partial province of the advocate. So no, only modern history, but English history in particular, has continually presented the strange and unedifying spectacle of different writers, possessing apparently the same opportunities, and drawing their information equally from the same original documents, arriving at opposite and irreconcileable conclusions; thus lending plausibility to the notion that truth is unattainable, at least in all that pertains to the history of this country, when ever may be said for that of Greece or Rome.

Happily a better era is at hand, not merely in the ^{super}r. authenticity, accuracy, and minuteness of the information supplied by these Calendars, but in the facility for testing and applying it. Here, at all events, the reader possesses an in ^{val}lible means of verifying history, of counteracting partial or exaggerated statements. He is enabled to trace the real progress and development of events; to ascertain their order, their proportions, and their natural significance.

To the value of the materials thus carefully tabulated and digested the chronological arrangement adopted in these Calendars has contributed not a little. Merely as a matter of arrangement a chronological

chronological order, for all historical purposes, is superior to any other. It is the simplest and the most intelligible in principle, the most practicable in execution. If disarranged—and to accidents of this kind all papers are liable—it is most easily replaced. But a classified arrangement, whether of books or historical documents, specious as it may appear to some, is illusory, and sooner or later ends in inextricable confusion. Hardly any two persons can agree on the classification in the first instance; still less on the manner in which it ought to be carried out. If it be too minute it defeats itself, if too narrow it fails to meet all requirements. The other principle—if principle it can be called—of allowing all manuscripts and papers to remain in their original disorder, as in the Bodleian Library and Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, is wholly indefensible. What is the consequence? No student, however laborious or persevering, can be sure of mastering the documentary evidence relating to any one period or any one subject on which he is employed. His search is baffled at every point; his most careful investigation ends in disappointment. Hours are wasted in searching indexes or examining collections without result for want of a little preliminary arrangement, the total absence of which can scarcely be considered as otherwise than discreditable. Until the recent efforts of Mr. Bond, it was not much better at the British Museum. Even to discover there the number of the Catalogues was evidence of no small proficiency; and when that is done, what a scene of disorder presents itself to view! Theology, classics, history, philosophy, were jumbled together in the most chaotic confusion. Here, a paper of the reign of Henry VIII. is wedged in by some extraordinary accident among those of Charles I. or Elizabeth; there, another of Charles V., or Ferdinand the Catholic, finds a place among topographical collections or county histories. Life is not long enough to grapple with so many obstacles. The best years and freshest energies of a writer are exhausted long before he has arrived at the end of his preliminary researches. He must go far a-field not merely to collect the straw and the bricks, but in this case straw, bricks, clay, and mud, are all tumbled indiscriminately in disorder before him, and he has patiently to turn over the immense heaps, to cull here and there, with vast labour and waste of time, the materials he requires. So wearisome is the toil, so little has been done in our great libraries to lighten or remove it, that few are willing to undertake it. Much easier is it, and much more remunerative, to reproduce ancient fallacies or refurbish popular errors, than to extend the limits of inquiry and tempt new regions in the face of so many discouragements. In all these respects the *Calendars of the Master of the Rolls* show

show as great a superiority over their confused and confusing predecessors, as the chronological arrangement of which they are the index is preferable to the non-arrangement of the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, the British Museum, or the absurd classifications adopted at Simancas and the Old State Paper Office. If disorder reigns supreme in the former, system and subdivisions in the latter are carried to excess. In Simancas no one can tell, as no one could tell in the old days of the State Paper Office, where his inquiry is to begin or where it is to end. Documents relating to the same events, the same person, and the same period, appear and reappear under every conceivable disguise. They so wind and double in and out, first under one classification and then under another, that it is hard if the plainest story does not elude the most zealous pursuit at last. Home Papers, Foreign Papers, War Papers, Navy Papers—then a faithful progeny of such prolific parents—Border Papers, Rebellion Papers, Calais Papers, Scotch Papers, Irish Papers: and of Foreign as many divisions as there were states or people with whom the mother country cultivated relations; France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, and so on—all the non-essential and non-natural divisions of an artificial system torment the patience of the most devoted and most conscientious reader. For purely diplomatic purposes it may be admitted that such divisions and subdivisions were, at one time, not without their use; and if it were important for the Foreign Minister of this day to be thoroughly acquainted with the policy of this country in reference to Italy and the Pope in the 16th century, or if it were requisite for him to be intimately acquainted with all the despatches connected with the descent on the isle of Rhé, or the negotiations for the marriage of Charles II., it might still be prudent to retain these formal and tedious classifications. Archivists, impenetrable to the wishes of the world outside, might still set common sense at defiance, and brave the anger and impatience of those who only value these muniments for their historical importance. But such a principle of arrangement leads to endless subdivisions and lands the reader in a practical absurdity. Suppose, for instance, that an ambassador has been sent to the Pope. As a matter of course he lands at Calais: from Dover he despatches a letter to the king or his minister announcing his arrival. He has something to say at every Court he visits in succession, some secret negotiation to reveal, or some anecdote to tell. Now, then, patient and ingenuous reader, under what series is his correspondence to be arranged? Under Home, Calais, Flanders, France, Sardinia, Italy, or Papal States? Under one or under all? Under all, by the rules of diplomatic arrangement;

arrangement ; and through all must the inquirer hunt for the dislocated members of his subject. The simplification of these endless divisions, and their reduction to a few, clear, and intelligible classifications is not the smallest service conferred by the Master of the Rolls on historical science. Arranging the papers under the fewest possible heads, he has made the basis of his *Calendars Chronological*.

On that subject we might be tempted to enlarge, did not our space forbid us. We have only room for one or two observations. First, by a chronological arrangement, all the materials relating to any given period of time are brought within a reasonable and a readable compass. In the next place, the worth of the evidence is more easily sifted, and contradictory statements more readily compared. Whether history should be written in the form of annals, or whether it should assume a freer and more philosophical form, may be doubted ; but it can be no question whether the materials to be used by the historian should be chronologically arranged or not. The essential order of events is only to be discovered, in the first instance, from the natural order, the true development from the apparent. In no other way is it possible to detect the minute movements of history, the gradations of action and reaction, the ceaseless complications of antagonistic forces, the rise and fall of opposing influences. It may be that the last age was too fond of insisting on the grandeur and philosophy of history, and so exhausted it of all real dramatic and human interest ; but are we not in danger of falling into the opposite error ? Are we not beginning, both in art and literature, to imitate the Chinese fashion of sacrificing to minute and obtrusive detail the higher and more spiritual graces of both ?

In selecting, therefore, the State Papers, and adopting a chronological arrangement for his *Calendars*, the Master of the Rolls occupied an untrodden path and inaugurated a new method for the study of history. Whatever other nations may have done for the advancement of historical literature, none has ever yet ventured to publish chronological abstracts of its official papers. Not only France and Germany, but minor States like Italy, far surpass us in their grand collections of annalists and historians. We had nothing to show that can bear comparison with the labours of Dom Bouquet, of Pertz, or even of Muratori. Whilst their works have given a new stimulus to historical studies on the Continent, and raised up a host of consummate historians, like Thierry, Michelet, Guizot, and Sismondi, the history of England has remained, until lately, a barren field, scarcely better explored than it was in the days of Carte or Hume. But in these

Calendars of State Papers we stand wholly unrivalled as a nation. Nothing like them has yet been produced ; nothing to which future historians, whether of this country or of Europe generally, are likely to owe so many obligations. Henceforth, the historian, here or abroad, who undertakes to treat of any questions connected with the period traversed by these Calendars must turn to them as his surest guides and most unerring authorities. From their pages he will have to learn the true history of events by which the politics of Europe were moulded during the 16th and 17th centuries. They can never be dispensed with ; they will never be superseded.

We have devoted a considerable portion of this review to these Calendars of State Papers, not only because they are prior in date, but, in our judgment, superior in importance, to all the other Rolls' publications. It was not until two years after, and probably in consequence of the success of his first effort, that the Master of the Rolls was induced to apply to the Treasury for an additional grant to enable him to publish the 'Chronicles and Memorials' of the United Kingdom. On this, as on the previous occasion, his application was based on an Address presented by the House of Commons to the Crown,* representing that a 'uniform and convenient edition' of our ancient historians 'would be an undertaking honourable to his Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge.' His Majesty was therefore prayed that the necessary steps might be taken for the furtherance of such a publication.

As the monastic chronicles already in print were often defective, and generally scarce and costly, whilst others of equal value existed only in manuscript, the Master of the Rolls announced his intention of giving preference, in the first instance, to those works 'of which the manuscripts were unique or the materials of which would help to fill up the blanks in English history.' He stated also that he had in view the formation of a '*Corpus Historicum*', within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible.' The plan thus judiciously marked out has, upon the whole, been faithfully observed, as faithfully, perhaps, as could be expected from the nature of the work. Of the eighty and odd volumes given to the world, sixty at least contain new and original matter : the rest present more perfect and complete editions of authors found only in a fragmentary form before, or they supply more accurate and convenient texts. Considering how precarious is the preservation of manuscripts, how numerous the accidents of

* 25th July, 1822.

fire, damp, neglect, and spoliation to which they are liable, the determination of the Master of the Rolls to give preference to those works 'of which the manuscripts are unique' will command general satisfaction. Science is independent of early discoveries, poetry owes little to mediaeval authors ; but to history the loss of contemporary documents and original records is the mutilation of a limb, the extinction of a planet from its hemisphere. The loss of a single manuscript is often a sort of literary homicide ; it is the utter and irremediable destruction of an author. By such misfortunes, a mist settles down on certain periods of history, never to be cleared away ; great events in the lives of men and of nations become involved in impenetrable obscurity ; *opinio manet opinio, et quæstio quæstio*. It is, moreover, a curious and humiliating paradox in bibliography that manuscripts of worthless authors may often be counted by hundreds, whilst of great authors there is only one. In selecting, therefore, unique manuscripts, in the first instance, for publication, the Master of the Rolls was doing his best to place the materials of history beyond the reach of accident, and in so doing he was filling up the blanks neglected or overlooked by previous editors.

But in so doing, these Chronicles and Memorials necessarily assumed a place subordinate to that of the Calendars of State Papers. They were in their nature supplementary to other collections antecedent in date, and in some cases more intrinsically valuable. For in this portion of his task the Master of the Rolls had been preceded by editors and collectors of great ability ; by Archbishop Parker and Sir Henry Saville (the celebrated Provost of Eton), by Twysden, by Gale, by Hearne, and many others. The field had been occupied, though somewhat in a desultory and ineffectual manner, by various historical societies ; and not the least by Mr. Petrie. All these, single editors and societies, sedulous and industrious in their different degrees, had the advantage of a first choice. Naturally they selected for publication such authors as they deemed most valuable ; not always with sound judgment and discrimination, not always with equal regard to accuracy : still a vast body of important and valuable materials had by their labours been given to the world. It only remained for Lord Rousilly to supply the omissions of previous editors, to rescue from oblivion what still remained worth preserving ; and, if the munificence of the Government would extend so far, to set forth more accurate and convenient editions of such authors as had been published already.*

* For this purpose the 'Descriptive Catalogue' of Sir Thomas Hardy furnishes invaluable information. The conscientious labour and care bestowed on that work by its author is beyond all praise.

But that which seemed to render the task easy made it more difficult. The earlier gleaners in the vineyard could scarcely do amiss. They had but to stretch forth their hands, certain that whatever they grasped and presented to their readers could not fail of being acceptable, and equally certain that their labours had not been anticipated. But when, after the continued toil and research of three centuries, it was necessary for the last comer to determine the value of what his predecessors had overlooked or hastily rejected, a much greater amount of caution, skill, and knowledge was necessarily required. It was indispensable to know not only what was worth publishing, but what had not been published before under the numerous aliases and disguises so common in mediæval annalists, so puzzling to the modern historian.*

If unlimited time had been allowed for such researches, or if the House of Commons and its economists could have been content to wait ten or a dozen years, the task might have been comparatively easy. But that was not to be expected ; nor was the example of the late Record Commission or its historical doings by any means encouraging. It would have been in vain to point to the historical productions of France and Germany, to the grand collection of Dom Bouquet, commenced before the first French Revolution and not yet finished, or to the equally superb *Monumenta Germaniae* of Pertz, now steadily advancing to its grand climacteric. As little would it have sufficed to show how these works had given a new stimulus to historical studies on the Continent. What economist in the House of Commons would have listened to such arguments ? So much money for so much work ; be it a seventy-four, an Armstrong gun, a fresco, or an ancient historian. No tangible result, no measurable work, no money. Other nations may dispute and discuss what form of publication is abstractedly the best. They may dig deep their foundations ; they may spend years in preparation, and satisfy their respective Governments by annual reports. But that is not possible

* Many of the larger religious houses had an historiographer attached to the establishment, whose duty it was to keep the records of the house and post up its annals from year to year. The mere events connected with his own particular establishment would have afforded the annalist but meagre and unsatisfactory topics ; and therefore the main body of his work was taken, in the first instance, *verbatim* from some popular chronicle of the day. Into this substratum the local chronicler interpolated notices relating to his own monastery ; such as the death, election, and character of the abbots ; records of benefactions, and the like. It is owing to this practice that a chronicle substantially the same appears again and again under a dozen different titles—as many titles in fact as there were religious houses in which it was adopted—but with local additions and variations. Hence the common blunder of Hume, and even of more recent writers, in quoting the same work under different names as independent and distinct authorities.

in England. So, in addition to his other difficulties, the Master of the Rolls had to determine on a mode of publication, which, if some might regard as not absolutely the best, was most feasible under all circumstances. He departed from the Continental plan of committing the work to one or two editors, and restricted the use of notes. He discarded the idea of a *Corpus Historicum*, such as Bouquet's and Pertz's, and resolved on publishing each history and chronicle complete and by itself. Though some may condemn this arrangement as not so scientific or philosophical as that of the great Continental editors, we are inclined to think that the plan forced upon Lord Romilly by the necessity of the case was, in fact, the most judicious he could have adopted even had he been free to choose. It is true that these ancient historians repeat themselves and perpetually reproduce the very same matter in the very same words. It is true that they sometimes borrow or steal from each other without misgiving or mercy. True also that a great number of them think it necessary to commence their narrative with Adam and the fall of man—a fashion we have abandoned as uninstructive and unnecessary, and somewhat tiresome to boot. But, then, what mode of publication is to be adopted? Shall these repetitions and superfluities be retrenched? Shall each author make his appearance stripped of these accessories, and reduced to his native and essential proportions? That might be a process which more persons than one would think advisable. The idea is not a new one. It has many attractions. It would have its advantages in saving the reader's time and temper. The facts of history would be brought within a more convenient and reasonable compass. Considering the dislocation of historical materials, their confusion and dispersion in all sorts of bye-ways and corners, nothing looks more attractive than such a plan as this, nothing seems more orderly or more sensible. It is precisely the same as any writer of history would adopt for himself in some form or another. But, attractive as it seems, it is more specious than real. The advantages it offers are dearly purchased by serious evils. If adopted, it becomes necessary to divide each author into segments; to place one portion of his work in one volume, another in a second, and the rest in a third. The unity of his work is, in a great measure, destroyed. The means of comparing one part of it with another is embarrassed with numerous difficulties. Questions connected with the general character or the individuality of the author are obscured, and still more so if some portions are suppressed as either foreign to the period embraced or anticipated already. The student of one period of history is under the necessity of purchasing the whole collection,

collection, or he must encumber his shelves with a number of odd and unnecessary volumes. On these grounds the Master of the Rolls, though intending, as he says, to form 'as complete a collection' as was possible of our national mediæval historians, rejected the Continental system. 'It is important,' he remarks, 'that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conform with his own peculiar taste and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection: an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.' If the facts of history were as passionless as those of science; if they admitted precisely of the same rectification; if they were wholly independent, like the facts of science, of the character of the *testis*, then a mere dry chronicle of facts would constitute the perfection of history. It would have attained that highest of all intellectual conditions—the dry light, the *lumen siccum* desired by Lord Bacon. On the contrary, the driest history is not only the dullest, in all senses of the word, but it is often the narrowest and the least instructive. The historian who treats his subject *ab extra* misses continually its finest and subtlest essence. He fails to master it, except in its mere formal and superficial phenomena. His spirit must be in conformity with the actions he narrates, or he cannot understand them; still less can he present them to others. At the great drama of human happiness and misery, of human passions, virtues, and failings, no man is suffered to remain an indifferent and yet an intelligent spectator. Precisely as the artist endeavours to translate into lines and colours the emotions and impressions nature has made upon him, the historian endeavours to interpret for posterity an image of the times as those times have stamped themselves on his brain and his affections. Even in the choice of his materials, even in his omissions, there is something significant of the man, of the weakness or the strength of his judgment, the poverty of his imagination, or the meagreness of his sympathies. Therefore it is not only his work, but his manner of working that must be taken into account: not the facts only which he registers, but his own moral and intellectual habitudes and those of his age. We can no longer be satisfied with that passionless interpretation of history which, professing to be literal, extinguishes its living significance, any more than we can allow the historian to substitute his individual fancies for true historical data. A larger criticism demands that we shall draw from the historian himself the true method of interpreting his narrative. For this process the plan adopted by the Master of the Rolls of publishing each author by himself, instead of the French

French and German method, is infinitely preferable, if not indispensable.

The correctness of Lord Romilly's judgment has been confirmed by the popular verdict. The notice attracted by his publications forms a striking contrast to the general apathy and indifference with which the productions of former Record Commissions were universally regarded. They were not, indeed, without their value—very far from it—but they were interesting only to a few. Reviewers naturally sought shy of books printed in uncouth type, unwieldy in form, and not unfrequently ushered into the world without a word of comment or a line of prefatory matter. If any body of scholars and gentlemen ever industriously resolved on the most wrong-headed way of insuring failure, none were ever more ingeniously successful in this respect than these Commissioners. Among the number are to be found the names of Mr. Hobhouse, Lord Dover, Sir James Mackintosh, Henry Hallam, and John Allen, all men of ability and eminence, all deeply interested in historical studies. Yet it is hard to say whether their want of judgment or of ordinary prudence was the more conspicuous. They could scarcely have gone astray without premeditated malice, for no country in the world is so rich in historical materials as our own; nowhere are those materials more varied, more copious, or more complete. It would be hard to hit upon any subject connected with the progress of society, the growth of our institutions, the development of our commerce, of our army, or our navy, or our colonies, the rise and fall of this class or of that in the community, to the accurate comprehension of which our national muniments do not contribute the most attractive and most momentous illustrations. But, from some strange obliquity of judgment, the Commissioners selected for publication such records as were of the least interest to the general reader; made them still more repulsive by printing them with all their original manuscript contractions, adopted the most cumbersome folio, proceeded without system, began what they could not complete, and entrusted the most difficult tasks, in more than one instance, to the most incompetent editors. What wonder that their labours were treated with neglect and contempt? These errors the Master of the Rolls has prudently avoided. He has confined his attention to the two grand sources of history—the State Papers and the Chronicles. He has selected for editors the most experienced scholars. In the form, the type, the text of his works, he has consulted the convenience of the ordinary reader; and by the prefatory matter prefixed to each volume has enabled both learned and unlearned to judge of its contents.

It is not to be presumed that all these works are equally interesting and equally important, yet of all it may be said that they have either contributed to a more accurate knowledge of English history, or brought to light fresh information, or replaced doubt by certainty. Future historians will have much better materials for their investigations than fell to the lot of their predecessors; but their labours and responsibilities will be increased in proportion. They will be no longer permitted to rest satisfied, as in the days of Hume, with a superficial examination of the truth, or with clever but inadequate theories. They will no longer be allowed to take up history as a whim or a holiday task in an idle moment, or as a mere relaxation from the severer pursuits of science or philosophy. Whatever else these works of the Master of the Rolls may have accomplished, they have made our demands on the historian more rigid and more exacting. Precisely in proportion as they have drawn more general attention to the subject, as they have shown how ample and various are the authentic materials, how many and divergent the lines of investigation, in proportion as they have brought the whole subject within the penetrating glance of a more critical and it may be said of a more captious age, in the same proportion will the historian find himself under the necessity of satisfying requirements that never entered the imagination of former generations. Such is the necessary consequence whenever fresh materials are brought into the field of any definite region of study, be it theology, philosophy, or history. Men are compelled to consider the relation of the new matter to the old—to institute contrasts, to discover similitudes, to advance their views, to change the customary posture of their minds. This increased activity creates of itself new powers and new intellectual demands. It enforces more concentrated observation, more critical sagacity—not merely because the new is better understood in its connexion with the old, but because the old itself grows into bolder relief and clearer forms from its juxtaposition with the new. It is doubtful whether the advancement of science and learning in all directions is not due much more to these causes than to any superior method of inquiry—whether the matter does not in this, as in other cases, determine the method. But, however this may be, we are persuaded that these works must eventually produce a great revolution in history—perhaps in history generally, certainly in the history of this country—as great as this generation has witnessed in the histories of Greece and Rome. Nor shall we be far wrong in anticipating for historical studies in general a much profounder interest and a more philosophic appreciation than have hitherto fallen to their share. Strange would it be if it were otherwise.

The

The current of events shifts and winds with such amazing and breathless rapidity—the present so eludes our grasp, that the past seems to offer to many the only safe standing-ground for their imaginations and affections. Contentment with the present; and the somewhat contracted sympathy which such contentment brings with it, is certainly not the failing of this century, whatever it may have been of the last. Whether in the apprehension of great changes and in the sense of political insecurity are to be found the most powerful incentives to the cultivation of history, as in the great historical era of Rome, and of France within our own remembrance, it is not needful to determine. That such changes have been pre-eminently favourable to it is unquestionable; that at no time has the past been studied with such passionate earnestness, and consequently with such fulness of appreciation, as when it seemed to be drifting furthest from the present, will scarcely be denied. But whatever may be the cause, the appetite for history is a great and increasing one. To its healthy development the Rolls' Publications will contribute not a little, as they have already given to its growth a new and energetic impulse.

ART. V.—1. An Act for the Support of Her Majesty's Household and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 Vict., c. 2. 1837.

2. *A Return of all Pensions granted and charged upon the Civil List, in accordance with the Act 1 Vict., c. 2, with the grounds upon which such Pensions have been granted, &c. (Moved by Mr. Stirling.) Published by Order of the House of Commons. 1861.*
3. *List of all Pensions granted between the 20th of June, 1861, and the 20th of June, 1862, and charged upon the Civil List.*
4. *Similar Lists annually to the 20th of June, 1870.*

THERE are few subjects of public interest upon which there is so much misconception as the Pension List. Many believe that the amount of pensions charged upon the Civil List must never exceed 1200*l.* a year, without troubling themselves to consider that the 1200*l.* sanctioned by Parliament is the amount of new pensions allowed to be added in each year to the pensions previously in force. Others believe that the 1200*l.* a year was intended for literary men only, and that all pensions not granted to literary men are so much abstracted from a fund exclusively intended for their benefit. Nothing is more common than to read in journals of considerable repute allusions to the 'Literary Pension

Pension List ;' and half, or more than half, of the memorials addressed to the Prime Minister are founded upon the assumption that, in apportioning the 1200*l.* a year, his first duty is to provide for the claims of literary men. Now, not only is there no such thing in existence as a literary pension list, but there never has been such a list. The sooner, therefore, the misconception is set at rest the better will it be for the recipients as well as for the dispensers of the bounty. At the same time, when it is known that, after making all necessary deductions for the deaths which will occur, in spite of the proverb that annuitants never die, the average amount of the Civil List Pensions ranges from 18,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a year, it will be obvious that the subject is worthy of being better understood than it has hitherto been by the public at large, not only for the sake of the taxpayer, who looks with suspicion on all pensions as incumbrances on the general revenues of the country, but also for the sake of the Minister upon whom devolves the duty of dispensing them.

In investigating the question, we are struck at the outset by the difficulty which a Minister must feel in dealing with such a subject. There is probably no duty unconnected with affairs of State which gives him more trouble and less satisfaction ; certainly none can be conceived more likely to prove a thankless office. For every pension which he grants he will cause about fifty disappointments, and of those upon whom his choice may fall, there are few who do not consider that the sum assigned to them is very far below their merits. Every year sees the accumulation in the Treasury of a mass of manuscripts in the form of 'memorials' or 'petitions'—perhaps the most dreary reading of all written compositions. The task of weighing and determining such claims would be a difficult one if all the applicants were persons of established reputation ; but the difficulty becomes serious when the Minister has to deal with claims from all parts of the United Kingdom—claims for public services unrecognised by Whitehall or Somerset House, War Office or Admiralty—claims from inventors and explorers who have flattered themselves into the belief that they have anticipated half the discoveries of the age—claims from third-class authors, the titles of whose works will scarcely survive to the next generation—claims from artists whose productions have failed to command the appreciation of the public—and claims from provincial notabilities whose names have never been heard of beyond the circle of their own coteries. The memorials of these applicants are, to a great extent, framed upon the same model, and are seldom conspicuous for excess of modesty in describing the pretensions of their writers. They frequently derive their chief importance from the fact that they

they are accompanied by a form of recommendation, signed by persons in all ranks of life, who affix their signatures, in many cases, for no other reason than that they are asked to do so ; and, in others, because they find it difficult to refuse what appears to be so small a favour as to recommend for a grant from the public purse individuals of whom they may have no personal knowledge, and whose claims they would hesitate to acknowledge, if such acknowledgment involved a demand upon their own pockets. None but those who are accustomed to the examination of such documents can form any idea of the want of discrimination with which men, of excellent judgment in other matters, permit themselves to be persuaded to attach their names to recommendations ; and none, therefore, are more qualified to appreciate the wisdom of a remark which is said to have been made by her Majesty the Queen, on observing the names of persons of position and character attached to the memorial of a worthless applicant, that 'people were to be found who would put their names to anything.'

With these preliminary remarks we proceed to examine the Act of Parliament by which the pensions on the Civil List were established, and the objects which it contemplated.

On the accession of the Queen, her Majesty renewed the arrangement made by her three immediate predecessors on the throne, by which 'all the hereditary rates, duties, payments, and revenues in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' belonging, due, and payable to her Majesty, were 'carried to and made part of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom ;' and the House of Commons, in consideration of such surrender, settled upon her Majesty a 'certain and competent revenue for defraying the expenses of her Majesty's household, and supporting the honour and dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom during her Majesty's life.' The Act by which this arrangement was carried into effect was the second of the present reign, technically known as 1 Vict., c. 2. It bears the title of an Act passed in the first year of George III., and is in force for the present reign only. After providing that the clear yearly sum of 385,000*l.* shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund for the support of the Royal household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown, it declares that 'provision shall be made at the rate of 1200*l.* a year for each and every succeeding year of her Majesty's reign to defray the charge of such pensions as may be granted by her Majesty chargeable on her Majesty's Civil List revenues ;' such pensions, however, not being included in the 385,000*l.* assigned to the Civil List, but constituting a separate and additional charge. It then recites the resolution adopted by the House of Commons on

on the 18th February, 1834, 'that it is the bounden duty of the responsible advisers of the Crown to recommend to his Majesty for grants of pensions on the Civil List such persons only as have just claims on the Royal benevolence, or who by their personal services to the Crown, by the performance of duties to the public, or by their useful discoveries in Science, and attainments in Literature and the Arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.' It enacts that, in order to provide by law for carrying this resolution into full effect, the pensions which may hereafter be charged upon the Civil List Revenues shall be granted to such persons only as possess the qualifications specified in the Commons' resolution, and that 'a list of all such pensions granted in each year ending the 20th June shall be laid before Parliament within thirty days after that day in each year, if Parliament shall then be sitting; but if Parliament shall not be then sitting, then within thirty days after the next meeting of Parliament.' In another clause it is enacted that the charge upon this class of expenses 'shall in no case exceed the sum by this Act limited for this class.' The Act was passed on the 23rd December, 1837. The first pension granted under it was dated 14th March, 1838, and the last reported to Parliament in the Return ordered to be printed on the 21st July in the present year, bears date July 18, 1870.

Within this period of thirty-two years the number of pensions granted has been 385—being one of 100*l.*, five of 50*l.*, one of 40*l.*, ten of 30*l.*, thirty-five of 20*l.*, thirteen of 15*l.*, one of 140*l.*, one of 125*l.*, one hundred and twenty-five of 100*l.*, one of 95*l.*, four of 90*l.*, six of 80*l.*, twenty-three of 75*l.*, eight of 70*l.*, one of 65*l.*, nine of 60*l.*, eighty-six of 50*l.*, fifteen of 40*l.*, six of 30*l.*, twenty-four of 25*l.*, seven of 20*l.*, and three of 10*l.*, making a total of 38,290*l.* Of this number, one pension of 500*l.*, two of 100*l.*, one of 60*l.*, seven of 50*l.*, two of 40*l.*, seven of 25*l.*, and two of 20*l.*, were additions to pensions previously granted. The pensions of 100*l.* constituted about one-third, and those of 50*l.* constituted about one-fourth of the whole number. The total of 38,290*l.* gives, of course, no idea of the actual sums paid to the pensioners during a series of years, but simply represents the total of the annual grants from 1838 to 1869, some few of which have been below the 1200*l.* sanctioned by the Act of Parliament, while one of them, and that, strange to say, the first after the Act passed, exceeded it. It is, moreover, convenient to refer to this sum of 38,290*l.* as a means of ascertaining the proportions in which the claims of each class have been acknowledged. By analysing the figures, therefore, we obtain the following results:—In Class I., described in the Act as 'Just Claims on the Royal Beneficence,' there

there have been four pensions, amounting to 1050*l.* In Class II., described as 'Personal Services to the Crown,' there have been twelve pensions, amounting to 1600*l.* In Class III., 'Performances of Duties to the Public,' there have been 115 pensions, amounting to 12,400*l.* In Class IV., 'Useful Discoveries in Science,' there have been 69 pensions, amounting to 7625*l.* In Class V., 'Attainments in Literature,' there have been 166 pensions, amounting to 13,590*l.* In Class VI., 'Attainments in the Arts,' there have been 19 pensions, amounting to 2025*l.* In June, 1861, the total sum payable on account of pensions then in force amounted to 18,785*l.* In 1868 it was 20,721*l.*

We now proceed to ascertain who have been the persons selected by successive Ministers as the recipients of these pensions under the different classes, taking our information from the returns presented to Parliament, and supplementing it by such details of the various claims as we have been able to collect.

In Class I., 'Just Claims on the Royal Beneficence,' we find only two entries. The first is that of Madlle. d'Este, afterwards the wife of Lord Chancellor Truro, as the recipient of two pensions of 500*l.* each. The second is that of Messrs. Calvin Beaumont Winstanley and John Lloyd, as recipients of pensions of 25*l.* each, in consideration of services rendered by their ancestors to Charles II. in his escape after the battle of Worcester, a claim which seems to have been a long time in incubation, seeing that it was only granted in 1846, 195 years after the event.

In Class II., 'Personal Services to the Crown,' Baroness Lehzen received a pension of 400*l.* for 'faithful services to her Majesty during a period of eighteen years'; Miss Wynyard received 200*l.* for her 'long and faithful services to the Royal family'; Lady Phipps, widow of the Hon. Sir Charles B. Phipps, received 150*l.* in consideration of his 'long, faithful, and confidential services as Keeper of the Privy Purse'; the Hon. Miss Eden, and the Hon. Miss Boyle, received 100*l.* each for their services to the Queen Dowager; while 100*l.* each was granted to her Majesty's German, Singing, Writing, and French masters, and to her Music and Dancing mistresses, and 50*l.* was granted to her Italian master, in consideration of the 'services rendered by them during her Majesty's education.'

Class III., 'Performance of Duties to the Public,' may be arranged, for the sake of clearness, under the five heads to which these duties are assignable, Military, Naval, Foreign and Colonial, Public Offices, Miscellaneous. In the first, comprising military services, there have been thirty-four pensions amounting to 4605*l.* In the second, comprising naval services, there have been

been four pensions amounting to 500*l.* In the third, comprising foreign and colonial services, there have been eighteen pensions amounting to 1815*l.* In the fourth, comprising services in public offices, there have been twenty-one pensions amounting to 2780*l.* In the fifth, comprising miscellaneous services, there have been thirty-seven pensions amounting to 2660*l.*; to which must be added one pension of 40*l.* to 'Sarah Mears, now Hughes,' in which the services have not been specified.

Under the first of these subdivisions, 'Military Services,' we find pensions of 500*l.* each granted to Lady Sale, widow of General Sir Robert Sale, for his gallant defence of Jellahabad; to Lady Smith, widow of General Sir Harry Smith, for his brilliant and decisive victory over the Sikhs at Aliwall; and to the Hon. Lady Inglis, widow of General Sir John Inglis, as an acknowledgment of his brilliant services during the Indian mutiny, and especially of his gallant defence of Lucknow; a pension of 300*l.* to the three eldest daughters, and afterwards a pension of 100*l.* to the fourth daughter of Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, for his eminent services at the battle of Inkermann, in which he lost his life; a pension of 200*l.* (in addition to one previously granted) to the two sisters, and one of 100*l.* to the two daughters of Sir Robert Kennedy, Commissary-General, in testimony of 'his long and arduous service of thirty-eight years in various parts of the Continent'; a pension of 200*l.*, in four separate grants of 50*l.* each, to the two sisters of General Sir John M'Caskill, for his gallant services and death on the field of battle; pensions of 200*l.* each to the widow of Colonel Peunycuick, for 'his distinguished services in various campaigns in the East'; to the widow of Colonel C. R. Cureton, for 'his long and distinguished services and death on the field of battle'; to Lady Barnard, widow of Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, who died in command of the army at the siege of Delhi; and to the Hon. Mrs. Anson, widow of General Sir George Anson, who died when on active service as Commander-in-Chief in India; pensions of 150*l.* each to the mother of Captain Thomson, 'in consideration of his gallant services and death from wounds received at the siege of Kars'; to the mother of Lieutenant Willoughby, for his gallant conduct in blowing up the magazine at Delhi; and to the widow of Colonel Charles Bingham, in consideration of his 'long and valuable services in the Royal Artillery'; pensions of 100*l.* each to the widow of Colonel Taylor, of the 29th Regiment, who was killed in the battle of Sobraon; to the widow of Colonel Willoughby Moore, who lost his life in the 'Europa' transport, 'in aid of the military pension granted to her as the widow of a regimental officer';

officer; to the widow of Brigadier-General Du Plat, in consideration of 'his distinguished services in the Royal Engineers; and to the widow of Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd, in consideration of his 'long civil, diplomatic, and military services and death in the war in the East;' a pension of 75*l.* to the widow of Captain Simmons, in consideration of his military and literary services, and of the eminent military services of her sons, of whom two were killed in action, and two died from illness contracted in the execution of their duties; a pension of 60*l.* to Lady Ellis, widow of Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Ellis, for his services in the Royal Marines in China; pensions of 50*l.* each to the daughter of General Sir Hudson Lowe; to the daughter of Brigadier-General Taylor, for his distinguished services in the campaign of Sutlej; to the widow of General Frederick Maitland, in consideration of his distinguished military services; to the widow of Deputy Commissary-General Price, for 'his long and meritorious services in various climates for forty years; to the daughter of Captain Edward McCarthy, in consideration of his distinguished military services in the Peninsular war, and especially at the storming of Badajoz; to the sister of Colonel Sir John Milley Doyle, in consideration of his distinguished military services; to the two daughters of Colonel Sir Archibald Christie, Deputy Governor of Stirling Castle, for his services in Flanders and Holland, in two grants of 25*l.* each; and to Mrs. Skinner, in consideration of her having lost three sons in the service of the country; and a pension of 20*l.* to the widow of Sergeant Grant, of the 45th Regiment, who was murdered in the discharge of his duty. Some of these names vividly recall the interest with which the country awaited the arrival of every mail from Afghanistan and the Sutlej, from Sebastopol and Kars, and from the great scenes of the Indian mutiny. No one would grudge any national acknowledgment for services performed on these historic fields; but with regard to some of the others, it is difficult to conjecture upon what principle the selection has been made. The number of pensioners is too small to be even an imperfect representation of the services of the army; and as the claims themselves are in no respect of an exceptional character as 'performances of duties to the public,' military men may fairly ask why other officers who have equally distinguished themselves on the same fields have not been deemed worthy of similar pensions on the Civil List.

This is still more remarkable in the second subdivision of Class III, 'Naval Services.' In this class there have been only four pensions, though there has been no lack of gallant services in

in the operations of the navy during the present reign. Of these four pensions the largest was one of 300*l.*, granted to the three daughters of Mrs. Ward, the natural daughter of Lord Nelson by Lady Hamilton. We next find one of 100*l.* to Lady Brenton, widow of Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton, one of the heroes of the battle of Cape St. Vincent, who died Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital; one of 50*l.* to the daughter of Admiral Sir William Hoste, for his services in the 'Amphion,' and at the reduction of Cattaro and Ragusa; and one of 50*l.* to the widow of Captain Beecroft, for his services in the suppression of the slave-trade during a residence of twenty-five years on the coast of Africa.

The third subdivision of Class III., 'Foreign and Colonial Services,' begins with a pension of 300*l.* to the widow of Mr. Montague, for his services in the penal settlement of Van Diemen's Land, and afterwards as Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope during the Kaffir war. We have then a pension of 200*l.* to Lady Jeremie, widow of Sir John Jeremie, who died in the public service when Governor of Sierra Leone; pensions of 150*l.* to the widow of the Right Rev. Dr. Rigaud, Bishop of Antigua; and, in two grants, of 75*l.* each, to the two sisters of Colonel Stoddart, who was murdered in Bokhara; pensions of 100*l.* each to Mr. Peter Warren Dease, chief factor to the Hudson's Bay Company, for his geographical discoveries on the North Coast of America; to the widow of Mr. George Canning Backhouse, who was murdered in the discharge of his duties as Commissary Judge at the Havannah; to the widow of Mr. Gallwey, for his long services as British Consul at Naples; to the widow of Mr. Fonblanque, who was killed by a Turkish soldier at Belgrade, while Consul-General in Se.via; to Mr. John Seymer, for the educational labours he performed among the natives of India, while suffering from blindness; to Lady Daly, widow of Sir Dominick Daly, Governor of South Australia; to Demetris Count Carnso, of the island of Cephalonia, 'in recognition of his long and faithful services to the British Protectorate in the Ionian Islands'; and to the widow of Mr. Charles Rowcroft, in two grants of 50*l.* each, the first for the services of her husband as Consul at Cincinnati, the second for the services of her husband's father, Alderman Rowcroft, as Consul-General in South America; a pension of 75*l.* to the daughter of Colonel James Fitzgibbon for his 'signal services in Canada'; pensions of 50*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Hillier, who died on service as Consul in China; and to the widow of Mr. L. Barbar, for his services in the affair of the Cagliari, while Vice-Consul at Naples; and a pension of 40*l.* to the sister of Captain

Captain C. Moylan, of the 72nd Regiment, who died in the 'gallant discharge of his duties' during a visitation of yellow fever at Barbadoes.

The fourth subdivision in Class III., 'Services in Public Offices,' presents us with the only example, during the present reign, of a pension of 100*l.* in one sum. This was granted to Sir John Newport, Bart., for his 'zealous and efficient services' for nearly half a century, first as Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, and afterwards as Controller-General of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom. The pension next in amount was one of 200*l.* granted to the sister of Mr. Edward Drummond, Private Secretary to four Prime Ministers, Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel, in mistake for whom he was assassinated in 1843, by the lunatic M'Naughten, under circumstances which created at the time a very painful interest. We next find pensions of 150*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Edwin Turner Crafer, a clerk in the Treasury, who had been Private Secretary to some of the Lords and to the Secretary of the Treasury; and to Lady Mayne, widow of Sir Richard Mayne, Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, 'in consideration of his personal services to the Crown and of the faithful performance of his duty to the public'; a pension of 100*l.*, subsequently increased to 125*l.*, to the five daughters of Mr. Joseph Tucker, Surveyor of the Navy; pensions of 100*l.* each to the widow of Mr. William Plunkett, Deputy-Chairman, and afterwards Chairman of the Excise; to the widow of Mr. Oliver Lang, the well-known Naval Architect and Master Shipwright of Woolwich Dockyard; to the widow of General Colby, R.E., for his services in organising and conducting the trigonometrical surveys in Great Britain and Ireland; to the widow of Mr. Hughes, many years Master of the Greenwich Hospital Schools; to Mrs. Delves Broughton, and Miss Susan Arbuthnot, daughters of Mr. George Arbuthnot, a clerk in the Treasury, and sometime Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; to the widow of Mr. William Hookham Carpenter, Keeper of the Prints in the British Museum; and, in two grants of 50*l.* each, to the three daughters of Mr. Baily, in consideration of his 'long and meritorious services in the War-office'; a pension of 90*l.* to the widow of Mr. Frederick St. John, Surveyor-General of Customs; a pension of 80*l.* to the widow of Mr. Jeremiah M'Kenna, 'in consideration of his legal services'; a pension of 75*l.* to the widow of Mr. Godfrey Sykes, for his 'services to the Industrial Arts and to the South Kensington Museum'; pensions of 60*l.* each to the widow of Captain Maconochie, for his services in the improvement of prison discipline; and to Lady Bromley, in considera-

tion of the 'meritorious public services' of her late husband, Sir Richard Bromley, K.C.B., as Accountant-General of the Navy; a pension of 50*l.* to the two daughters of Mr. Hay, for his 'long and faithful services' as a clerk in the Admiralty at Whitehall; and a pension of 40*l.* to the widow of Mr. Thurston Thompson, 'in consideration of his labours as official photographer to the Science and Art Department, and of his personal services to the late Prince Consort.' Among these twenty-one names we find those of persons who have held appointments in some of the first public offices in the country. Such appointments are considered the prizes of the Civil Service, not only on account of the salaries attached to them, but also from their association with members of the Government, and with the heads of departments generally. It is, therefore, not surprising that the pensions in this class have, more frequently than any others, been attributed to interest or favouritism, and have been regarded as the effects of personal intimacy or official connexion. It has also been urged, that if the families of men employed in the higher ranks of public offices are entitled to pensions on the Civil List, the large number of persons who have faithfully done their duty in the same departments, or in others of a less attractive character, ought to have made this class of pensions one of the largest in the List.

In the fifth subdivision of Class III., 'Miscellaneous Services,' we find a pension of 300*l.* to the Rev. Theobald Mathew, 'for his meritorious exertions to promote temperance in Ireland'; a pension of 200*l.* to Lieutenant Waghorn, for his 'great energy and perseverance in opening out the Overland Route to India'; with a pension of 100*l.*, in two grants of 40*l.* and 60*l.*, to his widow, and one of 50*l.* to his mother; a pension of 200*l.* to the wife of Dr. Alexander Mac Arthur, Superintendent of Model Schools in Ireland, and Inspector of National Schools in the Dublin district, 'in consideration of his having been attacked by mental derangement,' with one of 50*l.* to the widow at his death; a pension of 200*l.* to the widow of Lord Fullerton, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland; a pension of 100*l.*, increased afterwards to 150*l.*, to the widow of Mr. Frederick Beckford Long, Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland; a pension of 150*l.*, in three grants of 50*l.* each, to the three daughters of Professor George Joseph Bell, for his labours in the improvement of the law of Scotland; pensions of 100*l.* each to Mr. Samuel Wilderspin, for his services in promoting infant-schools; to the sister and two daughters of Mr. James Simpson, for 'his eminent services in the cause of education'; to Dr. David Nicol, in consideration of 'his long and zealous exertions for the moral and literary improvement of

of the community in which he lives ;' to Mrs. Caroline Chisholm, for her 'valuable and distinguished services to emigrants to New South Wales ;' and to the widow of Mr. William Dargan, 'in recognition of his services in connection with the Dublin Exhibition of 1853, and other works of public importance in Ireland ;' a pension of 75*l.* to the widow of Mr. John Lander, the African traveller, with two subsequent pensions of 50*l.* each to his two daughters ; a pension of 70*l.* to Miss Maria S. Rye, for her services to the public in 'promoting the amelioration of the condition of working women by emigration and otherwise ;' pensions of 60*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Austin, C.E., for his services in promoting the 'sanitary improvement of poor dwellings ;' to the daughter of Dr. Southwood Smith, M.D., for his 'valuable and gratuitous services in the cause of sanitary reform ;' and, in four grants, to the three daughters of Mr. Ffennell, one of the Salmon Fisheries' Commissioners—namely, one of 10*l.* each, separately, and one of 30*l.* to them jointly, and to the survivors or survivor of them—'in recognition of the labours of their father in connection with the Salmon Fisheries of the United Kingdom ;' a pension of 50*l.* to the six children of James Gibbons, who lost his life in the execution of his duty as Chief Constable of Police in Ireland ; pensions of 50*l.* each to the sister of Major Clapperton, the African traveller ; to the widow of Dr. Gavin, M.D., who was accidentally killed while employed in the public service in the Crimea ; to Mrs. Janet Taylor, the nautical-instrument maker in the Minories, for 'her benevolent labours among the seafaring population of London ;' and to Mrs. Macrae, on account of her 'long and successful services in the work of education ;' a pension of 25*l.* to the widow and two children of William Aldridge, 'a meritorious police officer, who was murdered at Deptford in the execution of his duty ;' and pensions of 20*l.* each to Messrs. Henry Williams, Thomas Walker, and Edward Morgan, three tradesmen of Newport, Monmouthshire, for their services as special constables in the Chartist riots in that town.

We now proceed to Class IV., 'Useful Discoveries in Science.' In this class the following pensions have been granted :—

Pensions of 300*l.*

Dr. William Wallace, J.L.D., Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military College at Great Marlow, and afterwards in the University of Edinburgh, in consideration of his attainments as a mathematician and astronomer. Sir William Snow Harris, for his invention of the system of lightning conductors for the Navy, with one of 100*l.* to his widow.

Pensions of 200*l.*

Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Astronomer Royal for Ireland, in consideration of his 'distinguished scientific attainments,' with one of the same amount to his widow and daughter. Professor Owen, for his discoveries in Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. Mr. Robert Brown, Keeper of the Botanical Collections in the British Museum, and formerly Naturalist of the Flinders Expedition, in consideration of his 'contributions and eminent services to the science of botany.' Professor James David Forbes, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, in consideration of his 'eminent attainments in science.' Professor Adams, Lowndean Professor of Astronomy in the University

of Cambridge, in consideration of his 'astronomical discoveries and scientific merits.' Mr. Robert Torrens, F.R.S., for his 'valuable contributions to the science of Political Economy.' Mr. John Russell Hind, F.R.S., for his 'contributions to astronomical science by important discoveries.' Mr. Francis Pettit Smith, for his 'great and for a long time gratuitous exertions connected with the introduction of the screw propeller into Her Majesty's service.' The daughter of Mr. Roberts, in consideration of his 'high mechanical inventions and scientific acquirements.' Lady Brewster, widow of Sir David Brewster, in consideration of the 'eminent services which he rendered to science.'

Pensions of 150*l.*

The five daughters of Dr. Paris, President of the College of Physicians, in consideration of his 'scientific acquirements, and the benefits he conferred by his additions to the knowledge of geology.' Mr. John Curtis, in consideration of 'his scientific attainments and the merit of his works upon entomology,' in two grants of 100*l.* and 50*l.*, with one of 90*l.*

to his widow. The widow and niece of Professor Faraday, in consideration of the 'services rendered by him to chemical science.' The widow of the Rev. Baden Powell, 'in consideration of the valuable services to science rendered by him during the thirty-three years he held the Savilian Professorship of Geometry and Astronomy at Oxford.'

Pension of 125*l.*

The six sisters of Dr. Dionysius Lardner, in consideration of

'his labours in the cause of science.'

Pensions of 100*l.*

The wife of Sir Thomas Maclear, Astronomer Royal at the Cape of Good Hope, with a subsequent pension of the same amount to himself, in considera-

tion of 'the importance of his discoveries.' Lady Bell, widow of Sir Charles Bell, of Edinburgh, in consideration of 'his services to the cause of science'

as an anatomist and physiologist. The widow of Mr. John Claudius Loudon, in consideration of the merits of his works on botanical science. Mr. George Newport, F.R.S., for his discoveries in the comparative anatomy and physiology of insects. The three sisters of Dr. James McCullagh, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Dublin, in consideration of his 'eminent scientific attainments.' The widow of Mr. Robert Liston, in consideration of his 'eminent surgical discoveries and scientific acquirements.' The widow of Signor Bolzoni, the Egyptian explorer, for the 'services rendered to science by his researches.' Dr. Mantell, F.R.S., for his 'eminent merits and contributions to science as a geologist and comparative anatomist.' Dr. Alison, M.D., Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh, in consideration of his 'scientific attainments.' The son of Mr. Henry Cort, in two grants of 50*l.* each; with one of 50*l.* to each of the two daughters, and one of 50*l.* to the granddaughter, for his 'useful and valuable inventions in the manufacture of iron.' Mr. James Bowman Lindsay, in consideration of 'his scientific attainments.' The widow of Dr. Ball, 'the naturalist.' Rev. John Hind, of Cambridge, the mathematician. Rev. Henry Logan, for his contributions to 'mathematical and scientific literature.' The daughter of Sir Samuel Bentham, in consideration of the 'great benefits which he conferred on naval science.' The two daughters of Mr. Fourdrinier, for his 'valuable inventions in aid

of the manufacture of paper.' The two sisters of Dr. Baly, M.D., in consideration of his 'long career in the public service, and of the merit of his scientific medical works.' Mr. George Rainey, in consideration of his 'labours and contributions to the transactions of learned societies on minute anatomy and physiology.' The widow and daughter of Professor George Wilson, of Edinburgh, for his 'eminent services as a public teacher and a scientific man.' The widow of Mr. Thomas Witlam Atkinson, for his explorations in Oriental and Western Siberia, Mongolia, and the Amoor. Mr. George Bartlett, for his researches in natural history in Devon and Cornwall. The widow of Professor Boole, Professor of Mathematics in Queen's College, Cork, for his 'attainments as an original mathematician of the highest order.' The widow of Dr. Boswell Reid, in consideration of his 'efforts to promote the knowledge of chemistry and the practical science of ventilation.' Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, M.D., for his 'eminence as a scientific chemist, and his services on the inquiry into the adulteration of food.' Rev. Miles Joseph Berkeley, Vicar of Sibbertoft, Northamptonshire, for his 'eminent services to microscopic botany.' The widow and mother of Mr. Hugh Miller, the Scottish geologist, in two grants, one of 70*l.* to the widow and one of 30*l.* to the mother. Mr. Augustus De Morgan, formerly Professor of Mathematics in University College, London, 'in consideration of his distinguished merits as a mathematician.'

Pensions of 80*l.*

Rev. William Hickey, Rector of **Mulrankin**, Wexford, for the 'services rendered by his writings, under the name of **Martin Doyle**, to the agricultural and social improvement of Ireland.' The four daughters of **Dr. Macgil-**

livray, Professor of Natural History in **Marischal College**, Aberdeen, for his services to natural history and botany. The widow of **Captain Charles Sturt**, 'in consideration of his geographical researches in Australia.'

Pensions of 75*l.*

Mr. Francis Ronalds, for his 'eminent discoveries in electricity and meteorology.' The three granddaughters of **Mr. John Robertson**, formerly Master of the Royal Naval School at Portsmouth, and afterwards Librarian of the Royal Society, for the services rendered to nautical science by his 'Elements of Navigation.'

Mr. John Donaldson, formerly Professor of Agriculture in **Hoddesden College**, now a poor brother of the Charterhouse, for the services rendered to scientific agriculture by his treatises on **maize**, **grasses**, **farm-buildings**, and **soils**. **Dr. John Hart**, M.D., of **Dublin**, for his researches in **anatomy** and **physiology**.

Pension of 70*l.*

Mr. Joshua Alder, of **Newcastle-on-Tyne**, for his services to the science of marine zoology, in drawing up, jointly with **Mr. Han-**

cock, the monograph of British **Nudibranchiate Mollusca**, published by the **Ray Society**.

Pensions of 50*l.*

Mr. Thomas Webster, one of the fathers of British geology, and the first investigator of the fresh-water beds of the Isle of Wight. **Mr. William Sturgeon**, for his discoveries in electromagnetism, with one of the same amount to his widow. **Dr. Thomas Dick**, LL.D., of **Broughty Ferry**, Dundee, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to science by his 'Ccelstial Scenery,'

and other works on astronomy, with one of the same amount to his widow. The widow of **Professor Henfrey**, F.R.S., Professor of Botany in **King's College**, London, for his researches in structural and physiological botany. **Mr. Richard Spruce**, for his botanical and geographical discoveries in South America, and for his services in introducing **cinchona** seeds into India.

It is unnecessary to point out that several of these names are of European celebrity; but while some of them who have obtained the largest pensions have been in the enjoyment of handsome incomes from employments of various kinds in the public service, others to whom the smaller pensions were granted have had no such resources, and, at the same time, have

Civil List Pensions.

have been so little inferior in scientific attainments, and the annual return to deserved a more liberal recognition. I have never

We now come to Class V., 'Attainments in Litera. Printing, or which, in spite of the complaints of literary men the persons administration of the Pension List, is not only the ¹titute of point of numbers, but the largest in regard to the amou^snsions to It contains 166 pensions, of which 37 were granted to ^{rn} from 23 to History, 14 to Biblical Literature, 13 to Novels, 6 to Archaeology, 12 to Periodical Literature, 11 to Miscell^{ant} of Literature, 7 to Topography and Travels, 6 to the Drama, 5 to Philology, 5 to Translations, 5 to Moral Philosophy, 4^{ve} Classical Literature, 3 to Art Literature, 2 to Biography, 1^{ve} Geography, 1 to Oriental Literature, 1 to Political Economy, 2 to Languages, 1 to Music. The following are the particular of the pensions granted in this class :—

Pensions of 300*l.*

Lady Morgan, the Irish novelist. Mr. Wordsworth, the poet. Professor John Wilson, of Edinburgh, 'Christopher North,' with one of 50*l.* to his daughter, Mrs. Gordon, at his death.

Pensions of 200/-

Colonel Gurwood for his services in editing the 'Despatches of the Duke of Wellington,' with one of 50*l.* to his widow. Rev. Henry Cary, one of the Librarians of the British Museum, for his translation of 'Dante.' Mr. Patrick Fraser Tytler (son of Lord Woodhouselee), author of the 'History of Scotland.' The four grandchildren of Principal Robertson, the historian, in four grants of 50*l.* each. Mr. Alfred Tennyson, the poet laureate. Rev. Dr. Samuel Bloomfield, editor of the Greek Testament. Mr. J. R. McCulloch, the political economist. Mr. Leigh Hunt, the poet, with one of 75*l.* to his daughter at his death. The widow

and six daughters of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, the Scottish divine, in one grant of 50*l.* to the widow, and six of 25*l.* each to the daughters. Mr. Sheridan Knowles, the dramatist, with one of 100*l.* to his widow. Mr. William Carleton, the Irish novelist, with one of 100*l.* to his widow. Mr. Silk Buckingham, the traveller. The widow of Mr. Robert Southey, the poet, with one of 100*l.* each to the two daughters of his first marriage, Miss Kate Southey and Mrs. Bertha Hill. Dr. George Petrie, LL.D., the Irish archaeologist, in two grants of 100*l.* each, with four of 25*l.* each to his four daughters at his death.

Pensions of 150/-

Dr. John Auster, LL.D., translator of 'Faust,' in consideration of the successful application of

his talents to the cultivation of literature.' Dr. William Henry Emmanuel Bleek, Ph.D., 'in recognition

Civil List Pensions.

Rev. Willis of Mulrankin, V	for literary services, and his labours in the cause of philology, especially in the study of the South African languages.
vices rendered under the name of William Howitt, in connection with the improvement of 'the long and useful four years of literary labour in which	Pension of 140 <i>l.</i>
	he and his wife, Mrs. Mary Howitt, have been engaged.'

*Pensions of 100*l.**

Mr. James Browne, LL.D., member of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, in consideration of 'his literary attainments.' Mr. George Burges, M.A., editor of 'Plato,' and of numerous Greek plays. Rev. Robert Kidd, editor of 'Dawesii Miscellanea Critica.' The widow of Mr. William James, the naval historian. The wife of Mr. Thomas Hood, the humourist, during his illness, with one of 50*l.* at his death to his daughter, Mrs. Brodorip, and one of 50*l.* to his son, Mr. Tom Hood, now editor of 'Fun.' Mr. Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet. Mrs. Sarah Austin, translator of 'Ranko's History of the Popes' and other works from the German. Lady Hamilton, widow of Sir William Hamilton, Professor of Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. The wife of Mr. Thomas Moore, the poet, 'in consideration of the literary merits of her husband, and the infirm state of his health,'—the grant in this case having been made to the wife, because Mr. Moore himself had been in the receipt of a pension of 300*l.* since the year 1835. Mr. Payne Collier, the Shakespearian commentator. Mr. James Bailey, editor of 'Facciolati's Lexicon.' Dr. John Kitto, editor of the 'Pictorial Bible,' with one of 50*l.*

to his widow, and one of 100*l.* to his four daughters. Mr. John Poole, author of 'Paul Pry.' Mrs. Jameson, for her writings on Art, with one of the same amount to her two sisters at her death. Mr. William Jordan, editor of the 'Literary Gazette.' Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart., traveller and essayist. The widow of Mr. David Moir, poet and novelist. Lady Nicolas, widow of Sir Harris Nicolas, the historian and antiquary. Mr. Alaric Watts, editor of the 'Literary Souvenir.' Rev. Dr. Hincks, Rector of Killyleagh, for his researches on the Khoosabad Inscriptions, and in Assyrian, Egyptian, and Babylonian History and Mythology, with one of the same amount to his three daughters at his death. Mr. Thomas Keightley, for his popular Historics. Mr. Samuel Lover, author of 'Rory O'More,' and other Irish novels. The widow of Mr. Gilbert à Beckett, one of the police magistrates of London, author of the 'Comic History of England,' and one of the principal contributors to 'Punch.' Mr. Philip James Bailey, author of 'Festus.' Mrs. Merrifield, author of several works on the literature of Art. The widow of Mr. Douglas Jerrold, satirist and novelist, with one of 50*l.* to his daughter after the mother's death.

Mr.

Civil List Pensions.

Mr. W. Desborough Coolcy, author of various works on the geography of Inner Africa. Dr. Robert Blakey, Ph.D., author of the 'History of the Philosophy of Mind.' Miss Julia Sophia Pardoe, author of the 'City of the Sultan.' Dr. Robert Bigsby, in consideration of 'his great services and contributions to the literature of his country.' Dr. Charles Mackay, author of 'The Salamandrine,' and other poems. Mr. Leitch Ritchie, editor of 'Chambers's Journal,' in acknowledgment of his 'labours to enrich the literature of his country, and to elevate the intellectual condition of the poor.' Mr. Isaac Taylor, author of 'The Natural History of Enthusiasm,' 'The Physical Theory of Another Life,' and other works, 'in public acknowledgment of his eminent services to literature, especially in the departments of history and philosophy, during a period of more than 40 years.' Miss Frances Browne, the blind poetess of Ulster. Mr. Edward William Lane, translator of the 'Arabian Nights' and the 'Koran,' 'in testimony of the value of his 'Arabic Dictionary,' the product of 20 years' labour.' Dr. Robert Gordon Latham, for his works on Ethnology, Language, and Comparative Philology. Dr. Trelles, for his contributions to Biblical Literature and Criticism. Miss Eliza Cook, the poetess. Rev. Charles Bernard Gibson, formerly Presbyterian Chaplain of the Convict Prison at Spike Island, author of the 'History of the County and City of Cork.' Miss Matilda Mary Hays, 'in consideration of her constant labour of mind, and her distin-

guished attainment.' Annual return to The widow and $\frac{1}{2}$ have never Montgomery, in a printing, or 'his abilities, learnin, the persons nents.' The widow & attide of Robertson, LL.D., Cu^onsions to Literary and Historic^orn from ment of the General $\frac{1}{2}$ kely to House in Edinburgh, $\frac{1}{2}$ ent of various works on the ancien^otry of Scotland, for the Sp^oPPY- Maitland, and Bannatyne Cl^ove Mrs. Oliphant, in consideration^oas her 'contributions to literature.' Dr. Charles Richardson, LL.D., in two grants of 75*l.* and 25*l.*, as the author of the 'New Dictionary of the English Language.' Mr. Edwin Atherstone, in two grants of 75*l.* and 25*l.*, as the author of 'The Fall of Nineveh,' and other poems. Mr. William Allingham, in two grants of 60*l.* and 40*l.* (the last granted in the present year), in consideration of the 'literary merit of his poetical works.' The widow and daughters of Dr. James S. Reid, Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil History in the University of Glasgow, in one grant of 50*l.* to the widow, and one of 50*l.* to the three daughters, 'in consideration of his valuable contributions to literature.' The widow of Dr. Robert Lee, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. Mrs. Anna Maria Hall, wife of Mr. S. C. Hall, Barrister-at-Law, editor of the 'Art Journal,' in consideration of her 'contributions to literature.' Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, author of 'Jack Sheppard,' and other novels, in consideration of his 'eminence as an author.' Mr. Robert William Buchanan, 'in consideration of his literary merits as a poet.'

Civil List Pensions.

Pensions of 90*l.*

^{hj} Rev. William Rockkin, of Dublin, Mulrankin, respondent of the services, renderor of 'Cassell's Po- under the ^{hj}try of Ireland,' and of to the pamphlets on the Irish improve-¹ ^{of 1} four ^{of 1}

Church and the Irish land quo- tations. Mr. James Burton Robert- son, in consideration of his 'useful, literary labours.'

Pension of 80*l.*

^{hj} a widow of Mr. George ^{ie, Historiographer Royal of}

Scotland, 'in recognition of his historical researches and writings.'

Pensions of 75*l.*

^{hj} Mr. John Britton, author of the 'Cathedral Antiquities,' and other antiquarian works. Miss Louisa Stuart Costello, author of several books of foreign travel. Mr. Dudley Costello, her brother, in consideration of the 'many years devoted by him to the pursuit of literature, and the high character of his works.' The widow and three daughters of Mr. George Dunbar, in consideration of his 'services as Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh.' Mr. Charles Duke Yonge, 'in consi-

deration of his literary merits.' Miss Emma Itobinson, author of 'Whitefriars.' The widow of Mr. David Trevena Coulton, editor of the 'Press,' and other London newspapers. Mr. Patrick Fredo- rick White, Lecturer and Illus- trator of the Minstrelsy, Bardic Literature, and Music of Ireland. Mr. Stephen Henry Bradbury, of Leicester, author of some volumes of poetry published under the *sobriquet* of 'Quallon,' in two grants of 50*l.* and 25*l.*

Pensions of 70*l.*

Rev. William Barnes, on account of his 'eminence as a linguist and author.' Mr. S. W. Fullom, journalist and author of works of fiction. Mr. Gerald Massey, 'a lyric poet sprung from the people.'

Mr. Cyrus Redding, journalist and author of the 'History of Wines.' Mrs. Elizabeth Strutt, author of a metrical version of the story of 'Cupid and Psyche,' and other works.

Pension of 65*l.*

Mr. Thomas Wright, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, editor of several books published by the Camden, Shake-

speare, and Percy Societies, and author of numerous works on English history and literature.

Pensions of 60*l.*

Miss Mulock, now Mrs. G. L. Craik, author of 'John Halifax, gentleman,' and other novels. The two daughters of Dr. Craik, Professor of History and English

Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, in two grants of 30*l.* each. Mr. Edward Capern, the poetical postman of North Devon, in two grants of 40*l.* and 20*l.* Dr. Archibald

Civil List Pensions.

Archibald Armstrong, LL.D., author of the 'Gaelic Dictionary,' in two grants of 40*l.* and 20*l.*, with one of 50*l.* to his widow. Miss

Eliza Metoy, ^{an} annual return to which have never 'Life of Wed' of printing, or works published not the persons of 'Silverpen.' ^{an} gratitude of pretensions to

Pensions of 50*l.*

Mrs. Turnbull, sister of Dr. Loyden, the Orientalist, 'in consideration of his literary merits.' The widow of Dr. Glen, for his services to Biblical literature, by translating, while a missionary in the East, the Old Testament into Persian. The widow and daughter of Mr. Joseph Train, 'in consideration of his personal services to literature, and of the valuable aid derived by Sir Walter Scott from his antiquarian and literary researches.' The widow of Mr. James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, with 40*l.* to his daughter at her mother's death. Mrs. Leo (widow of Mr. T. E. Bowditch, the African traveller, author of 'An Account of the Mission to Ashantee'), 'in consideration of her contributions to literature' as the author of 'Memoirs of Baron Cuvier' and of various works on Natural History. Mr. John D'Alton, 'in consideration of his contributions to the history, topography, and statistics of Ireland.' Miss Thomasina Ross, 'in consideration of her literary merits.' Dr. John O'Donovan, for his valuable contributions to ancient Irish literature and philology, with one of the same

amount to his ^{an} return from Charles Swain, 'in' likely to ^{an} of his literary ^{an} of widow of the Rev. Roacir copy- gomery, author of 'The Key have sence of the Deity,' 'Salvations, other works. Mr. Francis' ordered, for his contributions to Iris ^{an} works R ^{an} son, of Manchester, author of 'Rhyme, Romance, and Revels' of Mr. Thonias Roscoe, editor of the 'Landscape Annual,' and translator of Benvenuto Cellini, Sismondi, and Lanzi. Mr. John Wade, author of 'British History chronologically arranged,' in consideration of 'his contributions to political literature, more especially during the time of the Reform Bill of 1832.' The widow of Mr. John Leaf, of Friskney, near Boston, author of 'Biographic Portraits,' and of numerous contributions to the periodicals published by Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh. Mr. Henry Laing, 'in consideration of his services to the study of Scotch antiquities and Scotch historical research.' Mrs. Lucy Sherrard Finley, 'in consideration of her services to literature.'

Pensions of 40*l.*

The daughter of Mr. John Banini, the Irish novelist, 'in consideration of his suffering under severe illness, which has deprived him of reason,' with one of 50*l.* to the widow at his death. Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, in addition to one of 160*l.* granted

in the last reign, for his contributions to Anglo-Saxon literature. The widow of Mr. James Kenney, author of 'Sweethearts and Wives,' 'Raising the Wind,' and numerous other dramas, with one of the same amount to his two daughters at the mother's death.

Mr.

Civil List Pensions.

Rev. Willis Hodder, author of *Mulrankin, a History of the Irish Rebellion*, and other services rendered to the country; George Thomas under the pseudonym of 'Aerly a printer in the Library of the Royal Society'; author of 'Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Alexander MacLagan,' and editor of *Improvemental Poem*, and editor four of

of the 'Middlesex Chronicle,' a local paper published at Hounslow. Mr. Robert Young, 'in recognition of his services as an historical and agricultural poet in Ireland.'

Pensions of 30*l.*

Mr. Alexander MacLagan, 'in recognition of his literary merits.' Miss Julia Tilt, author of five novels.

Pension of 25*l.*

Mr. Joseph Haydn, author of *Cath. and Antiq. Dictionary of Dates*, with four successive grants of 25*l.* each to his more fortunate widow.

Pension of 20*l.*

Mr. Robert Bisset, LL.D., author of 'The Life of Burke,' and 'The History of

No one who knows what English literature has been during the reign of our present Queen, and how vast have been the numbers of those who have made it their profession, can read the names of these pensioners without a feeling of disappointment. No Minister, if called upon to select 166 persons, from the writers of both sexes, who, by their literary attainments during the last thirty-two years, have merited, in the words of the House of Commons' resolution, the 'gratitude of their country,' would consider that he had fulfilled what the same resolution calls his 'bounden duty' by making such a selection. It is, no doubt, one of the evils of having to apportion annually among so many classes of literary applicants a part only of the fixed sum of 1200*l.*, that the Minister is precluded from taking a more discriminating view of the claims before him, to say nothing of those which may have been left to him as a legacy by his predecessor—assuming that the latter claims are not set aside or forgotten on each change of administration. The small amount, also, which remains after the best cases have been provided for, frequently compels a Minister to assign inadequate pensions to claims with which he would willingly deal in a more liberal spirit if he had a larger margin at his disposal, or induces him to bestow petty sums on inferior writers, on whom, under other circumstances, he would never dream of conferring pensions, however small. This is the only excuse that can be offered for granting pensions to writers of whose productions

men of letters hear for the first time when the annual return to Parliament is published. Authors of books which have never commanded a sufficient sale to defray the cost of printing, or which, if once read, will never be read again, are not the persons who can be considered as having 'deserved the gratitude of their country'; while others who may have more pretensions to 'attainments in literature,' secure a more profitable return from the Minister who pensions them, than they are ever likely to obtain from the reading public, because a few years' payment of the pensions will more than realise the full value of their copyrights, assuming that, in the judgment of publishers, they have any value at all. There are, of course, some signal exceptions. Every one will recognise, among the names we have recorded, those of men whose genius has enriched literature with works which will live as long as the English language itself; others who have performed good and honourable service in fields of thought not calculated to command large pecuniary results; others who have spent their lives in researches of which the full value will be reaped only by posterity. Such men have earned a right to look to the nation for their recompense, and it is due to the nation to say that it has never grudged them a generous acknowledgment. In honouring such claims the Minister honours himself; and the only regret that has ever been expressed in regard to them has arisen from the feeling that the pensions assigned to them have, in many cases, been inadequate to their deserts. This feeling will be understood by comparing the amounts granted in the various classes of literature: a process which will at once prove, if proof were needed, that the grants have not been made on any principle of comparative merit. This will be especially observable in the classes of historians, travellers, translators, novelists, and poets, to some of whom pensions have been given as much below the merits of their works as those which have been given to others have been beyond them. In no other way can we account for one historian receiving three times as much as another of far more learning and research, or one novelist receiving five times as much as another of much greater genius and inventive power. As to the poets, the petty sums granted to mere poetasters have simply wasted money which might have promoted the comfort and rewarded the talent of men of real eminence, who would rather submit to the proverbial vicissitudes of a literary career than lose caste by accepting an inadequate pension from the State.

Another question suggested by an examination of the names of the literary pensioners relates to their nationality. It has frequently been asserted by the Welsh journals that no author

born

born in the Principality ever succeeded in obtaining a pension on the Civil List. So far as the present reign is concerned, the question is settled by the returns before us, which show that, of the 385 pensions granted since her Majesty's accession, nearly a quarter were made to Scotchmen, nearly a fifth to Irishmen, and only two to Welshmen; and these were not men of letters, but two tradesmen of Newport, who were pensioned for their loyalty in assisting the late Sir Thomas Phillips in suppressing the Chartist riots in that town.

The sixth and last class is that of 'Attainments in the Arts,' which appears to have found so little favour in the eyes of successive Ministers, that the total amount granted to it during the present reign has been less than one-sixth of that granted to Public Services, and little more than one-seventh of that granted to Literature. Of the 19 pensions of which this class consists, one of 200*l.* was granted to Lady Shee, widow of President Sir Martin Archer Shee, with one of 200*l.* to his three daughters on their mother's death; one of 300*l.* to Lady Eastlake, widow of President Sir Charles Lock Eastlake; one of 150*l.* to Mr. Richard Cockle Lucas, in 'consideration of his merits as an artist, and for presenting some valuable ivory carvings and antiquities to the South Kensington Museum'; pensions of 100*l.* each to the widow of Mr. Welby Pugin, the architect; to the widow of Mr. John Hogan, the Irish sculptor; to the widow of Mr. Cross, the painter; to Mr. George Thomas Doo, F.R.S., the line-engraver; to the widow of Mr. George H. Thomas, the artist; and to the widow of Mr. John Leech, the artist of 'Punch,' with subsequent pensions of 50*l.* each to his son and his daughter; a pension of 95*l.* to Mr. George Cruikshank, the caricaturist; a pension of 80*l.* to Mr. Kenny Meadows, the illustrator of Shakespeare; pensions of 75*l.* to the widow of Mr. W. H. Bartlett, the illustrator of various works of home and foreign scenery; and to Mr. John Burnet, the line-engraver; pensions of 50*l.* to the widow of Mr. Benjamin Robert Haydon, the historical painter; to the three daughters of Mr. Archer, 'in consideration of his valuable contributions to the science of photography'; and to Mr. John Hayter, the portrait painter. If we were to draw from these names and figures the inference that artists have been in easier circumstances than men of literature and science, we fear that the inference would be contradicted by the facts; and we may therefore presume that they have been more modest in the assertion of their claims, unless indeed we are to conclude, what for every reason we are unwilling to do, that Ministers have been more deaf to their appeals than they have been to those of others.

In conclusion, we venture to make a few suggestions as to the future management of the Pension List.

In the first place, we would remind all Ministers, present and to come, of the resolution of the House of Commons passed in 1834, which expressly declared it to be the *bounden duty* of the responsible advisers of the Crown to recommend grants of pensions to such persons only as have merited the *gracious consideration of their Sovereign* and the *gratitude of their country*. If these sentences could be kept before the eyes of every Minister, when he sits down in future to make his annual selection of pensioners, there would be fewer mistakes on his part, and there would be more ground for Mr. Disraeli's opinion, expressed in the discussion which took place in the House of Commons on the 23rd of March, 1867, in reference to the pension which had been granted to Mr. Robert Young, that 'the pensions which have been granted to the claims of literature and science have, on the whole, been given with good taste and discretion by the Government of the country, to whatever party they belonged.'

In the second place, it is clear that, if the mistakes which have occurred in granting pensions to recipients unworthy of them are to be avoided for the future, more care must be taken in the preliminary investigation of claims. The Minister must rely not only on the recommendatory signatures attached to the petitions, but must seek information from independent sources. It would also be an additional and important security against error if the grant of pensions were made the act of a Cabinet Committee, with the condition that no grant should be made unless the Committee were unanimous. When George IV. charged his Privy Purse with the sum of 1000*l.* a year for the purpose of giving pensions of 100*l.* to ten literary men of eminence, he placed the money in the hands of the President and Council of the Royal Society of Literature, in the belief that an independent body of gentlemen of literary tastes would be better able to make a just selection than any single individual, however eminent. This trust was performed for many years to the entire satisfaction of the royal donor and of the pensioners themselves, who felt honoured by having their names announced as the 'Royal Associates' of the Society. That they were not unworthy of the distinction may be seen from the names of the associates first elected, who were the poet Coleridge, the Rev. Edward Davies, the Rev. Dr. Jamieson, Mr. Malthus, Mr. Mathias, Mr. Millingen, Sir William Ouseley, Mr. Roscoe, Archdeacon Todd, and Mr. Sharon Turner. The necessity of obtaining more information than is likely to be given to a Minister

Minister by the applicant himself, is proved by a late narrow escape from the mistake of granting a pension to a 'fellow of a learned society,' who was better known to the Mendicity Society than to the Treasury. It was announced in a semi-official paragraph in the 'Times' that a pension of 75*l.* had been granted to this individual, who was only thirty-one years of age, and of the smallest pretensions on the score of literature; but the announcement having led to inquiry, the result of which was unsatisfactory, the intended pension was revoked.

In the third place, we are inclined to think that no pensions should be granted of a less amount than 100*l.* It may, probably, be urged in defence of small pensions that they have been granted as much to distress as to merit. That this has really been the case, is shown by the numerous entries of such phrases as 'destitute circumstances,' 'impoverished condition,' 'distressing position,' 'scanty means,' &c. But there is nothing either in the Act of Parliament itself, or in the resolution of the House of Commons, defining the persons to whom the pensions are to be granted, which refers, directly or indirectly, to distressed circumstances. The minor pensions are too small for those who have really 'merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their country.' All claims which do not commend themselves to consideration in strict accordance with these words of the resolution of the House of Commons should be reserved for the triennial grants of the Royal Bounty Fund, which is also under the control of the Prime Minister. The elimination of petty cases of small literary pretensions would enable him to give larger pensions to those which have a fair claim to national reward; and men of mark would no longer be humiliated by having their names reported to Parliament as the recipients of sums which are wholly inadequate to their merits, and which may give foreigners an erroneous impression of the value set upon them by the country.

Lastly, though poverty without merit constitutes no claim to a pension, we have grave doubts whether a Minister is justified in granting a pension to any person in easy circumstances. It may, no doubt, be assumed that when a man of literary or scientific reputation accepts a pension of 100*l.*, 60*l.*, or 50*l.* a year, the fact of the acceptance may be regarded as an indication of narrow means; but this is not invariably the case, as every one may ascertain for himself by glancing over the list, in which he will recognise the names of many persons of both sexes whose annual incomes are known to be from five to ten times larger than their pensions, and who, compared with the great mass of their literary or scientific contemporaries,

temporaries, are really in affluent circumstances. This is especially remarkable in some pensions of recent date, which have excited a good deal of jealousy and unfavourable criticism in literary circles, on the ground that, while many deserving applicants in narrow circumstances have been passed over, these fortunate individuals have succeeded in forcing themselves on the notice of the Minister, while surrounded with all the luxuries of life, and in the possession of ample means which ought to have made them unwilling to become a burden upon the State.

Having mentioned the 'Royal Bounty Fund,' we may observe that as much careful inquiry is demanded in its administration as in the grant of pensions. As the names of the persons assisted by the Minister from this source are not published, it is impossible to give official details, but enough has from time to time become known to show that gross impositions have been practised on the Minister, and that grants have continually been made without any inquiry whatever. Lord Melbourne, on one occasion, made a grant of 300*l.* from this fund to the author of a few school books, which are now quite obsolete or forgotten. Another Minister gave several grants to persons whose histories are recorded in the begging-letter department of the Mendicity Society; while another awarded 100*l.* to a man of notoriety at Carlisle, who was afterwards sentenced to penal servitude for forging the name of a noble lord in order to obtain employment in the Abyssinian Expedition; but suspicions having been excited after the grant was made, the character of the applicant was discovered in time to stop the payment of the cheque.

In the administration of so large a fund, the same precautions should be taken as are adopted in the Privy Purse department of her Majesty the Queen, of which it may be safely asserted that, under the control of the late Sir Charles Phipps and of his successor, Sir Thomas Biddulph, there has not been in our time a public office more ably managed in this country. Nothing is done in that department without inquiry, and special care is taken to ascertain that widows and orphans are lawfully entitled to describe themselves as such, and to detect the begging-letter class which is continually preying upon society. A few simple rules should be laid down, and strict compliance with them should be enforced. The Royal Bounty Fund might then become an important auxiliary to the Pension List, and might assist in rendering it more worthy of the national character and of the 'honour and dignity of the Crown.'

ART. VI.—*St. Paul and Protestantism; with an Introduction on Puritanism and the Church of England.* By Matthew Arnold, M.A., LL.D., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College, London, 1870.

IT may be said to be one of the open secrets of our time that great religious changes are impending in England. Among them, of course, are changes in the Church, in its internal polity, and in its relations to the Nonconformist bodies and to the State. Great movements of opinion within it, great political events without, such as the thorough-going application of Cavour's principles and policy in Italy, and the disestablishment of the Irish Church at home, and of almost all branches of the English Church in the colonies, have forced on men's minds the ideas which bring forth ecclesiastical revolutions, and have familiarized them with the possibility of extensive and deep schemes of remodelling. The ground has been moved and shaken about roots which have been almost undisturbed for several generations. These anticipations of change, which to some are not much more than a persuasion or a dim feeling that something new is coming, which to some bring anxious misgivings or inexpressible fear and pain, are to others a subject of eager welcome and hope. To the mass of Liberal thinkers—and there are very Liberal thinkers in the Conservative party—the prospect recommends itself in various ways. To some it opens the way of more complete and final escape from the embarrassments which have come from the political entanglements of religion; to some, a better chance for what they think larger and worthier ideas of religion; and as there are in the Liberal party elements not only of anti-ecclesiastical but of anti-religious policy and enthusiasm, there are some who hail it as likely to cripple, if not to neutralize, a powerful but irrational and noxious influence in society and legislation. The Nonconformists, as a body, are naturally excited at seeing things brought into serious question in a practical way, about which their complaints, their charges, and their arguments have been for a long time little heeded; they are elated at finding how much their weight has told in the decision of important political conflicts; and no one has a right to wonder at their triumph over the apparently approaching destruction of what they have so long and intensely wished to destroy, even if it is not to be destroyed for the reasons which have made them wish to destroy it. Within the Church, the various influences which at previous times told against separation from the State and against internal changes, have been

been greatly affected by the course of thought and by the events of the last thirty years. Changes in the balance of political and religious parties, in the ideas of government, in legislation, in doctrinal bias and development; in the character, the activity, the power, the aims of religious leaders; in the fashions and understandings of religious society, all have contributed in their degree, and often on different and opposite grounds, to reconcile many among the warmest and most sincere of Churchmen to innovations from which even a few years back they would have shrunk with dismay. The signs of the time portend change in the Church, and facilitate it. They point, also, to the direction which change is likely to take. Engineers tell us that when the periodic times of a ship's roll coincide with the periodic times of the waves in the trough of which she is swaying from side to side, this is the most dangerous time for her: for then the two forces act together, instead of checking one another, in disturbing her stability and balance. There never was a time, probably, in the history of the English Church, since the Reformation, when the impulse towards change from without conspired with such strong impulses towards change from within, which, though of a totally different nature, yet are acting in the same direction.

To all minds which feel the interest of religion the momentous question is presenting itself,—What is to be the future of religion in England, as far as religion is affected by the outward framework and visible form under which it lives and acts? These outward conditions in England have been very peculiar. Nothing exactly like it has been known in Christendom. Religion has been organized simultaneously on two different and antagonistic principles, and on both of them organized naturally, strongly, and popularly. The Church principle and system, and the Nonconformist principle and system, have long been, like two nations and two manner of people, struggling in the womb of English Christianity. In varying degrees of strength and prominence; with alternate periods of conflict, aggression, and truce; with many vicissitudes of fortune; with great fluctuations of predominance and repulse, each often checked and thrown back, apparently at the moment when it was most hopeful of triumph—they laid hold of English society before the Reformation, and have disputed the possession of it ever since, as they do now. And the remarkable thing is, that English society will have both of them. Both of them growing out of tendencies of unknown depth and force, and of indestructible vitality, neither of them has been able to overpower and expel the other; to make England, like France or Spain, the realm of a dominant Church, or, like the United States,

States, a commonwealth of sects. Both of these modes of organizing religion have much in common, as they both belong to English religion, which stands in sharp contrast with the different types of Continental religion. Both of them, besides their secondary differences, have points of affinity and sympathy which vary and alter in the progress of time, but which may, at any particular moment, create confusing and misleading appearances of resemblance. But they are essentially separated by a great gulf. The basis on which one rests is a public one, that on which the other rests is a private one. In contrast with the Church—quite apart from the position of the Church on the Statute-Book—every Nonconformist body, from the smallest and youngest company of Free Christians to the imposing organizations of the Methodists and Congregationalists, is a private association, the growth of private ideas and private wants, and exclusively and without challenge in its own hands and in its own power. This is just what cannot be said of the Church. It did not make itself. It could not, if it would, unmake itself. It declines, in the most peremptory way, any dependence on individuals; it rejects impatiently individual pressure; it will have nothing to do with private ideas, private doctrines, private claims. It is anything but co-extensive with the nation; yet the thought which inspires and guides it is nothing less than a national one. The one order is historical, inherited, continuous with the past, keeping in company, in troubled times and smooth, with the life and range of the nation. The other, in all its manifold shapes, starts in each instance from a fresh basis of change, reform, protest. To improve, it makes a breach; to build aright, it pulls down and clears the ground; and that which it has done on its own responsibility in order to begin its career, of course may be, and in the lapse of time is likely to be, done to it. It is the enterprise of private men. It may be right, it may be based on truth, it may be commended by imperious necessity, it may be a revival of primitive ideas and practices, it may be a return to real Christianity, and destined to retrieve and save it in a world which has lost it: be it what else it may, it must be a thing private and not public, the work and thought of private men, which nothing at present conceivable could ever make a public thing.

This, independently of belief, usage, and temper, is the broad distinction between the two forms of religious organization which have recommended themselves to the genius of the English nation. The capital difference is between what is public and what is private. The one is sometimes spoken of invidiously as the State Church, the creation of Acts of Parliament and the policy

policy of governments, an establishment in bondage to the civil power and at its mercy ; and the other is often described as being distinctively the voluntary system, the organization which belongs to churches which are free, independent of political control, untrammelled by human law, and which leaves choice and conscience at liberty in matters of religion. These popular ways of viewing the subject are inadequate and misleading. The Church is subject to legal regulation, not because it is the creation of law, but because its basis is a public one ; and what is public must attract the notice of the law much more than, and in a different sense from, what is private. And it is not only a mere begging of the question, but it is going in the face of palpable facts, to claim for the Nonconformist system the distinctive attributes of voluntary and free ; as if the Church were neither. It would be strange, in a race like the English, if that which had been for ages the chosen religious organization of the nation were less voluntary and less free than the organization of particular fractions. As no one is obliged to be a Churchman against his will, and as neither numbers nor heartiness of attachment are wanting in the Church, it is idle to allege that the absence of spontaneous adhesion and voluntary choice distinguishes its organization from that of the Nonconformists, or that its members feel themselves less free because they are under the limitations and government of English law. In their vigour, their tenacity of conviction, their ennobling sense of liberty, in their genuine and spontaneous warmth of zeal, no one who cares for his character as an honest reporter of facts can venture to say that there is anything to choose between them. Both are free, as far as freedom is compatible with an organization at all ; both are voluntary, if voluntary means the unrestrained adhesion of the will ; both are popular, if popular means what answers to and attracts the sympathies and interest of mankind. It is not in this direction that the distinction between them is to be sought. But one is public, with the advantages and the disadvantages of what is public ; and the other is private, with the advantages and the disadvantages of what is private.

Whether these two great roads are still to remain open for the religion of Englishmen, or whether one of them is to be closed, and closed for ever, is becoming one of the serious questions of the time. From the earliest days of English history, with one short interruption, there has been a public Church, a public religion. We do not call it national, for it has not always been such ; but it has always been public, open to the public, and for the public ; public in its aims, public in its management. Whatever its origin, it was not private ; whatever its

its changes, they have been brought about by great public influences, and they have been fixed by the acts of public authority. Whether there shall be such a thing any longer, is what the present generation will have to decide for themselves and those who come after them. Churchmen, indeed, believe—and believe with at least as much ground of reason as their antagonists have against them—that no changes of political relations can change the inherent attributes and prerogatives of their great institution. Its antiquity, its remoteness of origin, its long and chequered and powerful life, alone distinguish it from sects which were founded at a known and recent date, on known and limited doctrinal bases, and by the will and energy of particular men. The Church never can sink in such points to the level of religious societies which are but of yesterday. But the Church may cease, by certain alterations in her relations with the country, to be what she is now,—a public institution. And when she ceases to be a public institution, let her retain what she may of her present character and her present doctrines and habits of thought and feeling, the whole religious condition of the country is changed, and she takes her place as one among a number of religious societies, under the control of private men, under private government, and with private interests.

The general direction of Liberal thought in politics and religion is in favour of reducing all religious organization to a private matter: that is to say, to giving to the Nonconformist principle and system a complete and final triumph over the older principle and system. And this is natural; for the Nonconformists claim to have been in all periods of English history the staunch supporters of Liberal principles; and, as regards the embodiment of these principles in definite political changes and acts of legislation, the claim is well-founded. Whether the vaunted Nonconformist support of Liberal ideas has always been accompanied with what gives them their value—breadth and accuracy of knowledge, clearness and enlightenment of view, largeness of purpose and ends, and the moral qualities of nobleness, single-mindedness, and generosity—is fairly open to question. If the Liberal party owes them much, and is with reason expected to listen to their claims. But their claims are not paramount, and must be open to re-examination and scrutiny. And this claim—made with some peremptoriness, as if they were demanding the recognition of a self-evident truth—to bring down all religious organization in England to the level of their own, and their way of demanding, in the tone of men who will not any longer be trifled with, the extinction of a system to which Englishmen have been accustomed almost ever since there were Englishmen,

Englishmen, as if it were an oppressive privilege and a degrading monopoly, is beginning to react on Liberals who live out of the cries and clamours of their party. They, as well as the Churchmen, are beginning to ask whether English society and English religion would be the better for the abolition and wiping out of one ancient English manner of being religious ; for the lopping off of one most familiar and certainly not unfruitful form of religious communion and life ; for a revolution and pulling down which should make it impossible for a man to be a Christian except as a member of a private sect. The sects of Nonconformity have been of great service to English progress ; it does not follow from this that it would be a great gain to England if there were nothing but sects in which its religion could take refuge and find expression.

Parties, political and religious, go on, repeating more and more emphatically their assumptions and watchwords ; till at last, wearied out, perhaps, or rendered suspicious by confident and unqualified assertion and by the increasing disproportion of assertion to proof, the cross-examiner appears. He asks the reason why, of things which are taken for granted without misgiving, and are glibly and easily reiterated ; and the difficulty and trouble which the answer gives are the measure of the usefulness of his function even to his own side. The oscillations and development of religious and philosophical thought exemplify this law at all times, and it has not been without its remarkable and significant instances in our own. This office, with respect to the current assumption among Liberal thinkers and talkers that the Nonconformist principle of religious organization is the true and right one, and that it ought to be made, at the cost of great organic changes, the only one, has been undertaken by Mr. Matthew Arnold ; and there are few men who, from their position, the character of their mind, and their special gifts, are better qualified to discharge it with keenness and force, and, what is more important still, with unflinching straightforwardness and honesty.

Mr. Arnold has come forward to challenge the ordinary Liberal assumption that the victory of Dissent, which to so many people seems imminent, will be the victory of religious freedom, religious right, and religious improvement. He disputes the favourite Nonconformist thesis that levelling down, the equalization in external conditions of all religious societies, is the exclusively true theory of religious organization in a free country, and its right and wholesome state. As a Liberal he has endeavoured to put before Liberals, as a religious man he has endeavoured to put before religious men, what is likely to be

be the effect on human progress and on religion in England, of the extinction, in the name of equality, of that ancient public characteristic form in which Englishmen have up to this time known and practised religion ; and of the suppression and obliteration, it may be said on mere grounds of theory, of one of the two great spheres of religious interest and religious activity in England.

Mr. Arnold's claim to be listened to with attention, as an original and independent thinker, certainly not biased in favour of ecclesiastical theology or ecclesiastical exclusiveness, no one would affect to question. But there are two things which are likely to prejudice him with many of those whom he addresses, especially among the Nonconformists. One of them is his manner as a writer ; the other is the view of doctrine which he professes. As to the first, it is one for which Mr. Arnold, ever since he began to write, has been severely dealt with. He has been accused of not being in earnest ; of playing with what is serious, and amusing himself with his own ingenuity and caprices of taste and prepossession ; of being too delicate and fastidious in dealing with the pressing questions of a bold and energetic age, which require ready and broad, and perhaps rough answers, rather than far-fetched and refined ones. People take up his phrases, and expect on producing them to call up a smile : they except to his classifications and terminology, *Hebraizing* and *Hellenizing*, *Mialism* and *Millism*, as unreal, impertinent, and fantastic ; they resent being ticketed as *Barbarians* or *Philistines* by the preacher of culture. These are tricks of writing, and belong to a man's manner and favourite ways of expressing himself ; and all of us have a right to our likes and dislikes in such matters of taste. But there never was a greater mistake than that of supposing from this that Mr. Arnold had not thought deeply and really on what he writes about, or that he is anything short of being in the most anxious and often sorrowful earnest. In truth there ought to be no difficulty in seeing, through all his banter and sarcasm, that he knows well what he is talking of, and that his purpose is as near his heart as his meaning is clear and definite. But after all our experience, though humour has so often veiled the deepest feeling and conviction, we still are slow to discern what lies hid under a disguise of light and playful handling, — to distinguish between the smile of indifference or mockery, and the smile of masked emotion and concern :

‘Questo che pur sorriso ed è dolore.’

And yet with our literature, and all that it has shown us of the

the manifold and subtle devices of expression, we ought to be familiar with the reasons which have induced some of the keenest lovers of truth to seek a refuge from the consciousness of human fallibility and inadequacy in that self-repression which the Greeks call *eipovela*, and have made them reveal their most anxious convictions and say their 'invidious truths' in words which seemed to mock their meaning. Mr. Arnold has certainly said many things at which both Nonconformists and Churchmen may stumble; but those who least agree with him may convince themselves, if they will, that few men have taken more pains to clear up to themselves their thoughts, and the facts with which they deal; and that few take deeper interest in the conclusions which they urge. There is something irritating to many people in the easy flexibility of mind and style which passes rapidly through alternations of lofty calm, and light but stinging touches of satire, and goodnatured carelessness and self-abandonment, putting on the appearance of being too little in earnest, for fear of pretending to be too much. Let us, if we will, say that different men have different ways of writing, and that this is not ours, nor to our liking. But this ought not to lead any one to mistake the seriousness, the solid thought, and the sincerity and warmth of intention, which are marked on every line of his recent writings. A man who responds, as Mr. Arnold does, to the piety of Bishop Wilson, is not a man to think lightly of what Bishop Wilson lived and worked for.

The other point is more important. Nonconformists, whose theology Mr. Arnold criticises so severely, have certainly some reason to except to the theology of their critic. Mr. Arnold's interpretation of St. Paul, if it is the true and the adequate one, makes a clean sweep of a good deal more than Puritan divinity and tradition; and it certainly seems to us that in his anxiety to bring out in its due importance the moral basis and moral significance of religion, which he does with great beauty and truth, he overlooks two things,—the inextricable connection with even the moral side of Christianity of real outward facts of history, which if they fall, must bring down Christianity with them, and which it is intelligible to deny, but idle to ignore; and next, the value of those efforts after a philosophy of religion—efforts, often, doubtless, misdirected and barren, yet also, as certainly, involving deep and true work of the human mind, close scrutiny of its ideas, and patient and skilful use of the materials of knowing, which have gone on without interruption during the most progressive ages of man, and which we call theology. Mr. Arnold, for instance, is so deeply impressed and so amply satisfied with St. Paul's moral use of the idea of

of resurrection, that he does not seem to want for himself or further to care to see in St. Paul, any great stress laid on the historical fact of our Lord's resurrection. But to leave out the capital and supreme significance of that actual rising from actual death in the belief and teaching of St. Paul, is surely as arbitrary and hopeless a suppression as any that can be laid to the charge of those Puritan interpreters who have been blind to St. Paul's morality, and have dropped it out of his doctrine. It is vain to say that St. Paul did not want it as a real fact and step in the history and development of human destiny, as well as a great figure and suggestion of moral progress. It is in vain to attempt to expound St. Paul on the supposition that though he believed the resurrection as a fact, he put it, as an historical event, in the background as secondary: it is in vain to explain the meaning of Christianity on the supposition that it may be left aside, to succumb to or to wait for the decision of science. The great alternative which the question about it offers ought never to be absent from the mind of any one who speaks of Christianity. If it cannot be, then Christianity cannot be; and then it is waste of time to write about churches and sects, and to compare their merits.

We must think that St. Paul, though most undoubtedly, as Mr. Arnold urges, he founded Christianity on the great and sure foundation, 'Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity,' founded it also on the facts of the Apostles' Creed; and we cannot imagine how he could have founded it on anything short of them. That the one truth has been, as Mr. Arnold justly says, so widely and so astonishingly forgotten, does not make the other less true; and with respect to his sketch of the two great doctrinal directions in which Nonconformist theology runs—that at least which is most popular and common—though there is but too abundant reason for his remarks, yet it is probable that explanations and remonstrances could be offered, to which equitable men must pay attention. In those Calvinistic and Arminian theories of Divine justice and man's condition, of which he has given summaries—bald and repulsive ones, yet indicative, undoubtedly, of infinite coarseness of mind, and of much mischievous and debasing teaching—little as we sympathize with them in their peremptory hardness and with the religious leaning which makes them exclusively the Gospel message, yet we cannot say that there is no meaning; they do mean something deep, solemn, and real, though they are so unhappy in their effort to express it; there are profound and indestructible ideas of the human mind lying at the bottom, though it may be very intractable ones. But our differences with

Mr.

Mr. Arnold, both as to the respect due to Calvinistic and Arminian theology, and as to the tenableness of that view of St. Paul which he would put in their place, do not affect the question, which he has handled with so much temperate wisdom and with so strong a grasp, between the Church and Nonconformity.

The direct conflict between the Church and Nonconformity is commonly and naturally urged about questions of doctrine and Church order. 'The Church does not preach the Gospel,' 'the Church maintains an order and discipline which are not scriptural and primitive'—these are the two great fundamental allegations on the part of Nonconformists: the invidiousness of being a 'dominant sect,' a 'State Church,' a 'monopoly,' a 'slavery,' a 'compromise,' being thrown in as a popular topic, and taking the place of that belonging to the older charges of oppression and persecution, now out of date. The reply of the Church, the offensive movement on its part, carrying back the war into its opponents' lines, has certainly not been wanting in power or spirit. But the character of the conflict and of the circumstances surrounding it are not such as of themselves to affect decisively the public policy of England with respect to the Church. Other considerations need to come in—not perhaps higher or more important ones, but wider ones. There is room for a judgment from a point of view apart, on its grounds, course, and probable issues; and it should be the point of view of one who is beyond suspicion in his love of liberty and his independence of thought, and, on the other hand, is able to sympathise with and respond to the supreme value of the Christian religion, which is the mainspring of all that is serious and noble in both the contending interests. If a man does not care for Christianity, it will matter little which way a quarrel ends which to him is little better than a fight between kites and crows; if a man does not care for liberty, his anxiety will not be awakened as to the risks which liberty may run in the turn which things may take.

To these real, yet indirect aspects and bearings of the struggle, in relation to religion in itself, Mr. Arnold has drawn attention in his essay. A further question underlies the ordinary debate between the Church and the great Nonconformist aggression on it. It is not whether the Sects or the Church represent what is true and right in religion. It is not whether, if absolute truth is unattainable, which of them, more truly or more probably than the other, represents the teaching, the spirit and the polity of a Christian body, or its primitive and purest character. It is not whether the Nonconformist societies, great or small, may claim whatever any body of free Englishmen may claim for the prosecution of good

good and honest aims, and for the protection of their consciences and liberty of action. It is whether, in the name of liberty or general advantage, they are entitled to claim that other men shall not have something which they have not, and in the nature of things cannot have. It is whether their desire for equality, which is a natural desire, and their impatience of privilege, to which the recent course of events has given a spur, is to proscribe or extinguish, as contrary to justice, if not to Christianity, another form of religious organization, older, wider, more public, than any of theirs can be ; whether, because this other form has attracted to itself temporal advantages which belong to what is old and public, and is surrounded by public conditions and limitations which, in one shape or another, every association, much more every public organization, must have, but which of course must be open to plausible criticism, and which to many excellent men unquestionably seem grievous bonds, therefore England is to be deprived of something which she has never yet been without, which all the aggregate of sects cannot give, which vast numbers, to say the least, of Englishmen, high and low, regard as the most precious religious advantage—an inherited, open, public Church.

There are things, we have said, belonging to the Church as a public organization, which the Nonconformist bodies cannot have ; and these are things which impress a man like Mr. Arnold, who is not inclined to take a strong side for or against, in the theological questions between the Church and its assailants. The Church, to begin with, has its part, which nothing else shares with it, in the history of the nation : has not only influenced this history strongly, for that may be said of other religious bodies ; but has gone along with it, side by side, in all kinds of ways, inextricably woven in with it. The triumph of Nonconformity may take many things from the Church, but this it cannot take, any more than it can itself supply it : the fact that up to this time the Church, with all its changes, has lived from first to last with the life of the English nation, and that, beyond this, it holds, by real links of historical fact and spiritual kindred, to that great Christian body whose beginnings go back to the first ages and whose limits comprehended kingdoms and empires. The enthusiasm of Mr. Miall and Mr. Jacob Bright for self-assertion and disagreement—for ‘the dissidence of Dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion’ may finish by putting an end to this ; but let it be observed what they would be doing. Nothing, by which they could be any gainers : their religious organizations would be as free and unimpeded as they are now, but not a bit more so. But, for a number

a number of their countrymen, they would have destroyed a great idea realized for ages in unbroken fact: the idea of a historic, inherited Church, which was the Church of their fathers, as it was of those from whom their fathers learned the religion of Christ; the idea of a communion, not set on foot and self-constituted, like a religious order or a charitable association, by the piety or reforming zeal and on the responsibility of certain private Christians, but one which 'could not help existing,' which existed in virtue of certain great general influences and certain great events of universal interest,—their natural, spontaneous, uninterrupted consequence; the idea of a society in which a man found himself, just as he found himself in the State, surrounded by all the associations, venerable, inspiring, subduing, elevating, even saddening, which give grandeur and ennobling force to the thought of the State, reminded at every step of those numberless large and rich traditions, of those numberless appeals—often silent and obscure ones, but not therefore the less powerful—to our reason as well as to our hearts, which gather round that which has lasted for long and embraced the most varied elements and the strangest fortunes in the many ages of an eventful history; the idea of a religious organization, joined by continuity of corporate life with the past yet in full harmony with the present, old and solid yet able to grow and change, which has seen many things and been tried by them, deep enough and flexible enough in its genius to interest and attract widely, large enough for minds to have free breathing-room and range, open for all to benefit by, and for all to see. No doubt there are minds which do not value this; who do not care for an outward embodiment of religion which reflects the attributes and characters which a good citizen values in the State—its comprehensiveness, its natural and necessary breadth, its dependence on what has gone before; its long-drawn history, its accumulated memories, its usages framed by time rather than by the direct purpose of man, its mixture of strict enactment with wide margins, its practical indulgence and looseness of outline, its inherited temper of moderation and forbearance and habits of making allowance. The Church, like the State, is something which a man feels to belong to him very closely, yet not as his family belongs to him, or his club, or his joint-stock company; and there may be many good and religious people who do not care for a religious fellowship, about which so many others besides themselves, and of such opposite views and tempers, have so much to say, and which has been moulded by those who have been before us in the world, even more than by the generation of to-day or yesterday. Let such men have the most ample liberty for following religion

in their own way. They have something to say for themselves, and nothing but the influences of time and reason—slow influences perhaps—ought to be hoped for, to interfere with them and control them. But if there is another way of religion in England, not now proposed for the first time to be set up against them, but existing, of immemorial date, firmly rooted, bringing forth abundant fruit, filling the land with its monuments of holy beauty, and the literature of the nation with writings of consecrated genius, why should it be proscribed and put an end to? Why should the occasion be denied to those who prize it, of feeling that their religion is not one of their own selection and framing, but that it has come down, a public gift and inheritance, for the great people to which they belong? Why should they be deprived of that 'large room in which their feet are set,' of being able to feel that they have a part in what is the common possession of their brethren as it was of their fathers, of that sense both of wider liberty and larger sympathies which goes with what is ancient and is not limited by private and personal aims and rules? Why should they be forbidden their ancient and familiar connection with the fulness and richness of national life and universal Christian thought, because there are others who like better the more jealous fences and closer atmosphere of a particular association?

This distinction, that the Church, as compared with its rivals, is an ancient, historic, continuous body, though it has much to do with what is of the greatest importance in human concerns, namely, feeling and sentiment, carries with it much more than sentiment. It is closely connected with another feature in the contrast, which Mr. Arnold has brought out in its various lights with great keenness and power; the character of Church doctrine and religion. It is a feature which, it must be said, is to many a subject of the deepest scorn and insulting sarcasm, as it is to others a source of the deepest satisfaction and comfort. It is the marked preference of the genius of the Church of England for uncontroversial religion and a not too definite theology. We can hear reclamations on all sides against such a statement; we have at once recalled against us her controversial formularies, lists of her great polemics, enumerations of her sharply divided and excited parties. But is it not so? Contrast her divinity with the infinite and systematic elaborateness of the great Roman theologians, pursuing, adjudicating on every point, and with the lofty, often noble, ambitions of the great Roman spiritual masters. Contrast her literature with the great masterpieces of the Puritan divines, whether in the province of doctrine or the religious life. All the world is well aware of the existence

ence in English Church literature of that which people who value it call sobriety and modesty of statement, calm, proportionate, temperately serious views of divine things, a shyness to go too far and to speak too positively ; and which those who do not like it call tameness, vacillation, vagueness, feebleness of theological instinct and genius, cowardice, dryness, deadness to the Gospel ; or sneer at as a spiritless affectation of a homely and unpretending piety. But the result is that what is eminently Church of England divinity, that which is accepted generally as representative and common, compared with that of her great parties, is, as a whole, anxious after large and comprehensive ideas of religion ; very definite, indeed, in its view of facts and outlines, but forbearing to theorize about them and distrustful of dogmatic confidence and refinement ; impatient of absolute and aggressive pretensions, and fighting vigorously when it is necessary to fight, but turning away by preference from the fine questions of the schools and the negations of controversy, to dwell in its own way—with greater love for what is real than care for method and completeness, with want, perhaps, of scientific ardour, but honestly and with good sense—on the great broad aspects of religion, and their bearing on the conduct and prospects of man. There has always been, what to the eyes of strong religionists seemed a want of definiteness in dogma, a want of spirituality and unction, a taint of mere morality ; what to those who look wider than party, has seemed a supreme interest in real goodness and righteousness, a severe, solemn, most earnest subordination of every other aspect of religion to this one. And this view has commended itself most to that better side of English nature which lays so much stress on veracity and self-control, on fear of self-deceit and aversion to high professions.

There can be no doubt that if the Church had done what the Puritans ever since the days of Elizabeth have been wanting her to do, and what she has so obstinately resisted, to break distinctly and formally with her past, this, whether it be good or evil, would have been different. Their policy has always been to make this great break and fresh start ; we see in Hooker's controversy with Travers, how even a good man like Travers was driven by the inevitable tendencies of his system, to regard all his countrymen who had lived before him as outsiders and fatally wrong, and how hardly even Hooker could withstand and qualify the assumptions which the Puritans were trying to make popular. Led astray in the first instance by the sad necessities of the times, Puritanism made the theological oppositions and warfare of a fiercely militant Protestantism take the place of the substantial

substantial, and calm and varied ideas of Christianity : and because the Church would not break utterly with its past, it broke with the Church. When the Church, not excluding, at different periods of her history, much of what the Puritans insisted on, yet aimed in the long run at a larger, less contentious, more universally intelligible view of religion, the Puritans threw themselves on two or three great theological ideas, formulated them into rigid doctrines, and made everything else revolve about them. Puritan teaching, and at first Puritan separation, based itself definitely and professedly, not on questions of the Christian creed as a whole, but on certain fundamental dogmas, which it said were the articles of a standing and falling Church. Puritan polity, and, as Mr. Arnold remarks, Puritan separation now,—for its basis has greatly changed since its first days,—rest on the assertion of the manifest revelation in Scripture of a divine Church order. To most persons who are not Puritans the philosophical fault running through the Puritan position will be incontestable : the glaring onesidedness of their theory of doctrine, in which what is but one part, even if it is true, usurps a prominence which eclipses everything else ; and the mistake, the tendency to which is not confined to Puritanism, of raising positive law to the power of divine law. The mischief is a common one which arises from the passion for finding stronger reasons for what we believe and think right, than in the nature of things can be found ; from the feeling which inclines us to put our case too high, to use texts instead of arguments, to see but one side and overstate it, to insist on being desultite and peremptory when we have a right to be neither, to drive our arguments too hard. It is quite true that what Puritans and Nonconformists have done, great parties in the Church have done too. But the distinction is all-important. The Nonconformists have separated from the Church and set up a new basis of religious association for themselves, on the peremptory assertion of their scheme of doctrine and organization as the exclusive Gospel truth and Gospel order. The final, indisputable, infallible certainty of their interpretation of Scripture is their justification for separation, their one tenable reason for existing. But, whatever great parties in the Church may allege for the truth of their views, the Church itself, whether they will or no, rests, as a matter of fact, on wider bases. It existed before them. Their account of its meaning, its ideas, its facts and phenomena, may be right or wrong ; but apart from their theories, sound or unsound, the facts are what they are, and are, as usual, wider than the theories ; just as the facts, social and political, of a great state are independent of, and wider than the comments on them of

of social and political parties in it.* The distinction is forcibly put by Mr. Arnold. We are not concerned now with the question, whether or not he may not be hard on Nonconformist theology: but as no man who is not a Puritan can think that, whatever elements of truth may be contained in it, it is the whole and adequate truth, his remarks are not the less relevant, whether or not we agree with him in his estimate of the special doctrines for which the Nonconformist separation has taken place.

'In the following essay we have spoken of Protestantism, and tried to show how, with its three notable tenets of predestination, original sin, and justification, it has been pounding away for three centuries at St. Paul's wrong words, and missing his essential doctrine. And we took Puritanism to stand for Protestantism, and addressed ourselves directly to the Puritans; for the Puritan churches, we say, seem to exist specially for the sake of those doctrines, one or more of them. It is true, many Puritans now profess also the doctrine that it is wicked to have a Church connected with the State; but this is a later invention, designed to strengthen a separation previously made. It requires to be noticed in due course; but meanwhile, we say that the aim at setting forth certain Protestant doctrines purely and integrally is the main title on which Puritan churches rest their right of existing. With historic Churches, like those of England or Rome, it is otherwise: these doctrines may be in them, may be a part of their traditions, their theological stock; but certainly no one will say that either of these churches was made for the express purpose of upholding these three theological doctrines, jointly or severally. A little consideration will show quite clearly the difference in this respect between the historic Churches and the Churches of the Separatists.

'People are not necessarily monarchists or republicans, because they are born and live under a monarchy or a republic. They avail themselves of the established government for those general purposes for which governments and polities exist; but they do not, for the most part, trouble their heads much about particular theoretical principles of government; nay, it may well happen that a man who lives and thrives under a monarchy shall yet theoretically disapprove the principle of monarchy—or a man who lives and thrives under a republic, the principle of republicanism. But a man, a body of men,

* 'The sacramental element is an integral portion of the Church idea, and cannot be cut away from it. But Anglicanism, while perfectly clear on this point of the essential character of the Sacraments, is not pledged to any particular theory of their operation. As in the matter of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, so here, *it is the fact, and not the philosophy of the fact, that Anglicanism aims to grasp.* Grant first, that the Sacraments are of perpetual and binding obligation, and secondly, that they are channels of blessings to the Church, and the Anglican principle is satisfied.'—'The Church-Idea,' by Rev. W. R. Huntington. (New York, 1870.) P. 179. An acute and able essay by a clergyman of the American Church.

who have gone out of an established polity from zeal for the principle of monarchy or republicanism, and have set up a polity of their own for the very purpose of giving satisfaction to this zeal, are in a false position whenever it shall appear that the principle, from zeal for which they have constituted their separate existence, is unsound. So predestinarianism and solidarianism, Calvinism and Lutherism, may appear in the theology of a national or historic Church, charged ever since the rise of Christianity with the task of developing the immense and complex store of ideas contained in Christianity; and when the stage of development has been reached at which the unsoundness of predestinarian and solidarian dogmas becomes manifest, they will be dropped out of the Church's theology, and she and her task will remain what they were before.

'And even if it were true, as they allege, that the national and historic Churches of Christendom do equally with Puritanism hold this scheme, or main parts of it, still it would be to Puritanism, and not to the historic Churches, that in showing the invalidity and unscripturality of this scheme we should address ourselves, because the Puritan churches found their very existence on it, and the historic Churches do not. And not founding their existence on it, nor falling into separatism for it, the historic Churches have a collective life which is very considerable, and power of growth, even in respect of the very scheme of doctrine in question, supposing them to hold it, far greater than any which the Puritan Churches show, but which would be yet greater and more fruitful still, if the historic Church combined the large and admirable contingent of Puritanism with their own forces.'—pp. 1-8.

The effect of this original false conception and mistaken direction in the first start of Nonconformity Mr. Arnold has illustrated with unexpected effects from the history of the early dealings between the Church and the Puritans. The popular notion is that it was all tyrannous enforcing of arbitrary forms and usages on one side; all brave and single-hearted assertion of freedom of conscience and worship on the other. It is the great boast of the Nonconformists that the 'Nonconformity of England, and the Nonconformity alone, has been the salvation of England from Papal tyranny and kingly misrule and despotism.' Those who have eyes to see, and have looked into the details of history in those days know that it was something very different: that if it was a quarrel in which tyranny came in, at least it was a struggle between rival ambitions to tyrannize; that if it was a quarrel in which the hatred of usurpation and love of reasonable freedom came in, that hatred and that love were as strong in those who resisted the Puritans as in any of the Puritans themselves. Mr. Arnold has had the candour and the courage to go against the prevailing sentiment among Liberal writers, even the more temperate and large-minded among them, who deal with the rival

rival religious tendencies which met at the Hampton Court Conference and the Savoy.

‘ The two great Puritan doctrines which we have criticised in the following essay at such length are the doctrines of predestination and justification. Of the aggressive and militant Puritanism of our people, predestination has, almost up to the present day, been the favourite and distinguishing doctrine ; it was the doctrine which Puritan flocks greedily sought, which Puritan ministers powerfully preached, and called others *carnal gospellers* for not preaching. This Geneva doctrine accompanied the Geneva discipline ; Puritanism’s first great wish and endeavour was to establish both the one and the other in the Church of England, and it became nonconforming because it failed. Now, it is well known that the High Church divines of the seventeenth century were Arminian, that the Church of England was the stronghold of Arminianism, and that Arminianism is, as we have said, an effort of man’s practical good sense to get rid of what is shocking to it in Calvinism. But what is not so well known, and what is eminently worthy of remark, is the constant pressure applied by Puritanism upon the Church of England, to put the Calvinistic doctrine more distinctly into her formularies, and to tie her up more strictly to this doctrine ; the constant resistance offered by the Church of England, and the large degree in which nonconformity is really due to this cause.

‘ Everybody knows how far nonconformity is due to the Church of England’s rigour in imposing an explicit declaration of adherence to her formularies. But only a few, who have searched out the matter, know how far nonconformity is due, also, to the Church of England’s invincible reluctance to narrow her large and loose formularies to the strict Calvinistic sense dear to Puritanism. Yet this is what the record of conferences shows at least as signally as it shows the domineering spirit of the High Church clergy ; but our current political histories, written always with an anti-ecclesiastical bias, which is natural enough, inasmuch as the Church party was not the party of civil liberty, leaves this singularly out of sight. Yet there is a very catena of testimonies to prove it ; to show us, from Elizabeth’s reign to Charles II.’s, Calvinism, as a power both within and without the Church of England, trying to get decisive command of her formularies ; and the Church of England, with the instinct of a body meant to live and grow, and averse to fetter or to engage its future, steadily resisting.’ —pp. 8-10.

The phenomenon is as true and important as Mr. Arnold’s appreciation of it is clear and forcibly presented. In the original narrowness of their theological and political bases the Nonconformist churches are at a disadvantage, which they can never retrieve, in comparison with a historic Church like the Church of England, set up for Christianity in all its breadth and fulness, and not for a special view of it ; set up for the nation as

a whole, and not for a set of men particularly minded on a point of order and government; drawing its ideas and life from all the wide sources furnished in an old and universal religion, and taking its chance with what comes of these ideas in the progress of time. And this difference has grave and visible consequences, in thought, and in spirit, moral temper and practice. The greater movement of thought in the Church, the variety and originality of the attempts in it to unsold and apply, and give increased body and meaning to the original and inexhaustible ideas of Christianity—for ideas, without changing, may vary indefinitely in adequacy of expression—the freedom, and boldness, and spontaneous play of inquiry and opinion, the latitude claimed and won, the unexpected modifications of received doctrines arrived at, all this has been something to which, by the witness of friends and enemies, there has been no parallel whatever in the Nonconformist ranks. We all know it is an easy and stock form of reproach to the Church. But, whatever be thought of it, the fact is there; and the reason of it is plain. A member of the Church thinks and judges, and follows out his train of ideas, in the presence not only of a larger body, a larger world, than the Nonconformist, but of a public world. His limitations are public ones; his liberties are public ones. Liable to be sharply brought up by public authority, if he overpasses the one, the others leave him, in feeling as well as legally, to go as deeply and as boldly as he will or can into the questions of his time. 'To be reared a member of an Establishment,' as Mr. Arnold has well said, 'is in itself a lesson of religious moderation, and a help towards culture and harmonious perfection. Instead of battling for his own private forms for expressing the inexpressible and defining the undefinable, a man takes those which have commended themselves most to the religious life of his nation; and while he may be sure that within those forms the religious side of his own nature may find its satisfaction, he has leisure and composure to satisfy other sides of his nature as well.' And whatever estimate we may form of English theology, it is, we suppose, beyond dispute, that all that gives it its special character and interest, all that has a perceptible hold on the general mind of the nation, all that, successfully or unsuccessfully, has accompanied the changes of society, and tried to adapt itself to new states or tendencies of thought, has arisen, with few exceptions, within the public open sphere of the Church. Nonconformist theological literature is very considerable; Nonconformists have written much, earnestly, carefully, ably. But, with the exception of Baxter—Bunyan and Milton belong to a different class—what Nonconformist name rises above the level, if up

up to the level, of great Anglicans of the second order—Bramhall, Thomas Jackson, Andrewes, Leslie: who of these is on a line with Hooker, Taylor, Barrow, Butler, Waterland? ‘The fruitful men of English Puritans and Nonconformists,’ as Mr. Arnold has said, ‘are men who were trained within the pale of the Establishment—Milton, Baxter, Wesley. A generation or two outside the Establishment, and Puritanism produces men of national mark no longer.’ The reason why the Nonconformists, with all their zeal and courage, with their industry and ability, and sometimes with genius, have failed to do the like is, that they are confined within the narrow lines of their original basis; it is inevitable, as Mr. Arnold says—and his remark is as true of cliques and parties in the Church as of sects without it—that ‘sects of men are apt to be shut up in sectarian ideas of their own, and to be less open to new general ideas than the main body of men;’ they discuss the greatest of questions from a point of view which interests themselves, but interests no one else. And so they have been left behind in the great movement of thought which tells on our age. In order to do themselves justice on such a subject as religion, men need that consciousness of connection with what is public and greater than anything of their own, which in all things, often obscurely realized, yet like so many of our obscure feelings, not the less operative, favours simplicity and checks littleness, which enlarges, elevates, and refines; which corrects the aberrations, and makes up for the wants and poverty of what is private and isolated and self-centred. Call it what you please, ‘progress,’ or ‘growth,’ or ‘development,’ or ‘innovation,’ or ‘corruption,’ it is in the Church, and not in the sects, that it has gone on; it is in the Church, with the one ambiguous exception of Methodism, that there has been power and freedom to generate and support the great religious impulses which affect the general ideas of the country.

‘And as the instinct of the Church always made her avoid, on these three favourite tenets of Puritanism, the stringency of definition which Puritanism tried to force upon her, always made her leave herself room for growth in regard to them—so, if we look for the positive beginnings and first signs of growth, of disengagement from the stock notions of popular theology about predestination, original sin, and justification, it is among Churchmen and not among Puritans that we shall find them. Few will deny that as to the doctrines of predestination and original sin, at any rate, the mind of religious men is no longer what it was in the seventeenth century or in the eighteenth; there has been evident growth and emancipation. Puritanism itself no longer holds these doctrines in the rigid way it once did. To whom is this change owing? Who were the beginners of it? They were

were men using that comparative openness of mind and accessibility to ideas which was fostered by the Church.'—p. 20.

Perhaps with Mr. Arnold's understanding of St. Paul's doctrine of justification we should find it as difficult to agree as with the popular Evangelical theory of it. But the fact remains, on which he lays stress. The Nonconformist Churches were founded on an absolute theory, and a corresponding technical phraseology, which religious thought and reflection are outgrowing; and now those Churches suffer from it. The historic Church of England 'avoided the error, to which there was so much to draw her, and into which all the other reformed Churches fell, of making improved speculative doctrinal opinions the main ground of the separation;' she did not invent a new Church order, or single out two or three speculative dogmas as the essence of Christianity, and fight for her new inventions, but 'set herself to carry forward, and as much as possible on the old lines, the old practical work and design of the Christian Church;' and now, whatever there is to regret and be ashamed of in her history, whatever her mistakes of policy, and failures in achievement, whatever her defects of tone and sentiment, whatever, as some say, her degradation of servitude, or, as others say, her extravagances of liberty, she is the Church in which religion is conceived of more broadly and comprehensively, in which variety of opinion has more latitude and tolerance, in which men can think more independently and speak more boldly, in which the slow growth and revision of religious thought, keeping at the same time ever obstinately to its roots in the past, is more evident, than in that great body of private religious associations which boasts more freedom, and owns no account to men or their laws.

The infinite superiority for a religious position, both in respect to thought and to feeling and life, of a public Church, where our own self-importance is merged in something much wider and greater, while our liberty is far less in danger from arbitrary invasion, seems one of those things about which it is surprising that there should be any doubt: but it is enough for our present line of reflection that its advantages should be at least equal to those of private associations. Why, when both exist, should one be taken from us? Why should it be made part of the policy— it is professed, even of the religion—of the friends of the principle of private religious association, to wage implacable hostility on that which others value so highly—a Church which is public and not private? Of course, if it is public, an ancient historic institution, it must have attributes which cannot, in the nature of things, belong to what is both recent and private. Of course

course those who do not like it, will not like its privileges ; will call it a monopoly. It is a pretty wide monopoly ; but every Church, public or private, must have some organization ; and, as no organization will please everybody, to those who are not pleased, if it is a public organization, it will seem a monopoly. Changing it would not help, for it would only change the malcontents. Simple equality, there cannot be between what is public and what is private : but the question for reasonable men is, whether the inequality is so great, mischievous, oppressive, derogatory, dishonouring, that the Nonconformist associations have a right to demand the proscription and extinction of a public Church : whether, with whatever abatements, there are not such great positive and characteristic benefits in a public organization of religion as to entitle those who prefer it to ask why others, just as free as themselves, should take it from them.

Surely Mr. Arnold is not wrong when he warns the Nonconformists that there are many ugly features, judged of from a religious point of view, in the temper which some of their leaders announce as that in which they are pursuing their aim of destroying the oldest and certainly not the least popular organization of religion in England, and refusing us henceforth the choice between a public Church and one of a number of private ones. The danger and the misery of the growth and pretensions of '*petites églises*' are never absent even in a public Church ; but after having been bred up in the comparative largeness and liberty of a public body, and known its chastening and sobering influences, its help in drawing up thought and delivering from the selfishness and pettiness which earnest singlemindedness cannot always deliver from, henceforth to be condemned for the rest of one's life to descend to the cramping and narrowness of a private religious body, is a dreary reverse of fortune to look forward to. In a passage of great truth and force,* which our limits will not allow us to transcribe, Mr. Arnold sets out what is the real state of the case : that what requires this change is simply the 'jealousy' of those who like private association best, and may have it as much as they please, with nothing to hamper or molest them ; but who will not any longer let their brethren have, what Englishmen have had so long, the alternative form of religious life, that is, a great historic public Church.

'Put an end to all this jealousy and antagonism,' say the enemies of the Church, 'by destroying inequality, by pulling down the "dominant sect" from its position of pre-eminence. Then, when it stands on common ground with the rest, there will

* Pp. xviii-xxiv.

not be this bitterness and spirit of attack.' Can any one who knows, even superficially, the condition of English society believe that this will be the result? With Mr. Miall proclaiming for his motto, the 'dissidence of Dissent,' can any one expect that that which the Church now gives to any one who wishes for it, the peace and calm and composure of an understood position, the tranquil security of a system long settled on recognized bases, which a man has not to fight for from day to day, will any longer be anywhere within their reach? Will there be nothing for the zeal of sects to compete for: will there be nothing to irritate them and animate their hostility in what will still remain of the pretensions even of the disestablished Church? Will the temptations to religious leaders be less—temptations to self-assertion, extremes of doctrine, violence of means? Will religious leaders, when the checks and weights of a great public body are taken off, help to make religious society more peaceable? And, whatever else results, will tranquillity and mutual forbearance be promoted when that becomes universal in which the Church,—and it is a matter of complaint against her as often as it is of praise,—is in notorious contrast with the Nonconformist bodies, the concentration of a man's thoughts and interest on the affairs of his particular connexion? Will English religion gain by the extension of a state of things such as Mr. Arnold presents to us,—a state of things which, apart from his judgment on it, no one we suppose denies as a fact, and of which, it is worth observing, the English Roman Catholics, though they belong to an ancient and world-wide Church, are just as much an example as any other Nonconformists?

'It is hardly to be believed, how much larger a space the mere affairs of his denomination fill in the time and thoughts of a Dissenter, than in the time and thoughts of a Churchman. In fact, what is it that the every-day, middle-class Philistine—not the rare flower of the Dissenters but the common staple—finds so attractive in Dissent? Is it not, as to discipline, that his self-importance is fomented by the fuss, bustle, and partisanship of a private sect, instead of being lost in the greatness of a public body? As to worship, is it not that his taste is pleased by usages and words that come down to *him*, instead of drawing him up to them? by services which reflect, instead of the culture of great men of religious genius, the crudo culture of himself and his fellows? And as to doctrine, is it not that his mind is pleased at hearing no opinion but its own, by having all disputed points taken for granted in its own favour, by being urged to no return upon itself, no development? And what is all this but the very feeding and stimulating of our ordinary self, instead of the annulling of it? No doubt it is natural: to indulge our ordinary self is the most natural thing in the world.

But

But Christianity is not natural ; and if the flower of Christianity be the grace and peace which comes of annulling our ordinary self, then to this flower it is fatal.'—p. xxix.

Mr. Arnold surely has reason with him, reason of the widest and soberest kind, when he doubts whether such a change would raise the general level of religion. The existence, the free, flourishing, vigorous life of Nonconformity, with whatever shortcomings it has, is a benefit to the religion of England. The victory of Nonconformity would be, we do not say fatal to it, but a damage from which it would be long in recovering. In the ideas which Nonconformity rests upon and makes prominent, and in the ideas which with acrimonious intolerance it proscribes and denounces ; in its hatred of what is public and general, and in its contempt for unity and its sophistries to excuse disunion, it does distinct mischief to what is of supreme importance in religion. And by giving the weight which, in most of its forms, it does, to the opinions of the least taught and the most ignorant, by weakening the independence of teachers, by encouraging the belief that zeal is a substitute for light, its direct and visible tendency, in spite of some better efforts, especially among the Congregationalists, is to promote a coarse and vulgarized type of religion. Can its triumph, that is, the exclusive prevalence of the conditions of Nonconformist religion, by cutting off and annihilating those other conditions which existed with it and before it, really do anything to secure for English Christianity greater purity, greater beauty, greater calm and repose, greater light, greater largeness ? ' Oh ! ' say the enthusiasts for Nonconformity, ' set the Church free as the Sects, give us a clear stage, appeal to our generous rivalry ; and Christians will renew the wonders of the first ages.' We can see no reason for expecting the marvels of the first ages, after the history and follies of the later ones : and to destroy, out of hatred and jealousy, what, to say the least, is an advantageous position for religion, because it is not ours,—to exchange deliberately the quieter influences of a long-tried and settled system, which has found its place and learned many lessons, for the chances and necessities of a competitive and perpetually aggressive proselytism,—gives no one any right to anticipate either human success or Divine blessing.

Why should it be given up ? Why should the public policy of England, which is much wider than Nonconformist interests, though pledged to Nonconformist rights, be called upon to alter it ? The Nonconformist ground of the unscripturalness, unlawfulness, sinfulness of it, because it is not the polity which Nonconformists think they find in the Bible, and because what is public

public must be in connexion with the State and the law, is a reason for being a Nonconformist, but for nothing else. Apart from the vague and dangerously ambiguous claim for equality, the Nonconformists have really nothing to say; and it is for the statesmen and people of England to consider whether the Nonconformist system is so manifestly superior, in reason and working, that it is for the advantage of the country that it should supersede and exclude the other, the public organization which has been so long in possession, and to which not the least important part of the nation is so deeply attached. But there are reasons which, though not those of the Nonconformists, point in the same direction. How a dogmatic Church—a Church of fixed creed and professed definitions of doctrine—is to be a public national institution in such a country as England, is a question which, no doubt, presses on many minds. It is a question which our generation will probably have to deal with in a different way from what it has ever been dealt with before; but it is also a question which in practice time has solved. Time and experience have shown that a Church with a very pronounced theology, and a worship founded on it, can be public, popular, reasonable, forbearing, liberal. Dogmatic the Church must be, if it is to be a religious society or a Christian society at all; but in two points it has shown a character of its own. Without ever running off its own lines, and holding fast sturdily to the central points of the universal Christian creed, it has allowed free discussion about the margins of doctrine, and has, in consequence, in the course of history altered greatly its own attitude to systems of belief which were on this margin; and next, it has cultivated with increasing purpose and sincerity the desire of light, the sense of what is finite and imperfect in our human grasp of divine knowledge, the aim at exact and modest statement; the recognition of the surprising and enormous differences which are made by varieties of atmosphere and by altered points of view, of the possibilities of misunderstanding and correction, of the unknown magnitude of what we may have yet to learn; the duty of making even a blind allowance for much that we cannot accept or understand, the willingness to believe good, the readiness to welcome sympathy where agreement is hopeless. If this combination of tenacity of conviction and a resolute spirit in asserting it, with the successful and increasing endeavour to be open-minded and temperate, has not—in spite of all instances to the contrary, and they have been too many—been a marked characteristic in the English Church, it would certainly make the prospect a desperate one of her retaining her present relation to the nation. If she ceases to be dogmatic, she ceases to be a Church

Church at all ; if she cannot hold her belief and teach it, with a due consciousness of the conditions which attend and qualify all human knowledge, she will find herself too much out of harmony with what is public and common to fill a public place. But against all taunts of her being a Church 'that does not know her own mind ;' against the perplexities and inconsistencies which are sure to gather round everything that is on a great scale and very complicated ; against charges of compromise and time-serving, and burdensome subscriptions lightly and loosely submitted to ; against sneers such as that, attributed to Mr. Forster, and not worthy of him, that lax interpretations of formulaires account for the spirit of mercantile dishonesty ; against all this very plausible and very glibly reiterated criticism, there is to be set the plain, solid fact that the English Church is, in its working, the largest-minded and most tolerant of all active religious communions which also really care for the ancient belief ; and that in thousands and tens of thousands of centres it brings with unassuming and unwearied earnestness the plain message of the Christian religion, without controversial disputings, with a supreme regard to its spiritual and moral bearings. Theories about Church perfection, as well as theories about abstract right, of equality, take a very secondary place—at least with those who consider the mixed nature of all human things—when the mind has fairly grasped such facts as these. To have made the type of religion represented by George Herbert, Bishop Wilson, and the 'Christian Year' the established and recognized type of English public Church religion is a thing to be set against many failures.

Of course, to assume that the Church of England, in the more or less of dogma that it enforces or permits, has hit the exact middle point between too much and too little, is for those of its champions who think that whatever is, must be right ; or that in questions, which as soon as we really touch them, face us with evident and undeniable difficulties, it is yet easy off-hand to lay down the certainties of error and right. For those who accept the fallibility of Churches as well as of men, yet for all that believe that men, and Churches also, have used to good purpose God's gifts of light in teaching and upholding truth, it is enough that the English Church has maintained a doctrine essentially the same as that of Christendom in general, which is the part of a Church and religious society ; and has maintained it with a power of growth, with a generous and intentional forbearance for great differences within its borders, which is the part of a public and comprehensive body. How these differences are to be treated is no light matter. They are very

very serious ones. They threaten daily to come into collision with all boundaries and claims of authority. They tempt impatient men to exaggerated judgments, to rash demands, and rash wishes for short and rough measures to settle them. The direct remedies proposed on opposite sides are equally full of danger. It is hard to say which would be most perilous: an increased stringency in ruling points against large parties which have a real standing-ground of argument, challenging them to submit or depart; or a forced and precipitate comprehension, which should sacrifice and break the ties of continuity with the past, and in order to make the Church more national unmake her as a religious society. These things render the present course of her history critical. But with these risks—risks such as she shares necessarily with every great living and public body comprising in it very various elements and energetic forces—she is what she has been and what she is: a Church discharging not ineffectively a vast public mission, which in many respects there is none else to discharge; discharging it with a very distinct understanding of the substance which she has to teach, but allowing a degree of play to individual thought and liberty of interpretation and action which would have seemed beforehand incompatible with a common basis, and which has long astonished some strong minds and irritated some earnest ones. If sneers and epigrams and insulting metaphors could have killed her, the Church of England would have long since perished. Happily reason, though often confounded with them, is a force of a different order. It has an underground work which, like the obscure rays of the spectrum, is not less powerful than its more brilliant play.

But it is objected that all this while we are dealing with a misnomer: that we are talking of the Church as if it were one, a whole in itself; whereas its real and vital unity, the unity of spirit and conviction, is less than that of Protestant Nonconformity. 'It is not one,' is the allegation; 'its unity is nothing but a fictitious claim of unity, a legal mask over the profoundest dissensions, a hypocritical and hollow name. How can such a body fill the place of a public Church?' No doubt, it is divided. There is no Church or communion in Christendom which could hold, we do not say the recognised parties of High and Low, but such extremes as the free inquirers who are protected by the 'Essays and Reviews' judgments, and the Free Lances of Ritualism, gallant and devoted fighters for religion many of them, but owning no law but one which none can understand but themselves; Catholics in intention, but assuming more and more in theory and in practice the position and

and the likeness of the elder Puritans—Puritans of the *positive* quantity—for vestments, instead of *against* them. Even in Germany, where there is boundless liberty of speculation, there is the most rigid bureaucratic hold on everything outward and public. The phenomenon is unique; and as the Church of England is certainly not the Church of indifferent and cowardly men, the inference to be drawn, from its being the only Church to bear such a thing, is not necessarily the one for its being a Church without meaning or faith. There is division; but when it is implied that this division destroys unity, the answer is, that as a matter of fact it does not. These divisions no more destroy unity between those who do not choose to separate than the divisions of political parties destroy unity in the State. In a historic continuous body, descended to us, not made by us, existing independently of our existence and will, which has grown, and not been framed by us, disagreement and even discord may go a long way without disintegration; the interpretation of facts may be various and even contradictory, without things coming to a break-up. And that is the difference between the unity of what is naturally and organically one, and the metaphorical unity—the result of compact or the expression of feeling, an alliance for common ends or common war, depending on our pleasure, or a mere figure of speech—in bodies founded for the very purpose of separation, and starting in order to diverge. In one case unity, though troubled, though in continual danger, is a real thing; in the other it is a forced and fanciful invention, to cover notorious and, at a particular stress of argument inconvenient, facts. While they keep together, a country is a country, and a Church is a Church. Put things at the worst in the way of parallel, yet France and Spain, torn by factions, irreconcilable in their principles, irreconcilable in their aims, are yet one; are yet to disagreeing Frenchmen and Spaniards their country. Descent, history, community of experience, community of ties and interest, greater and stronger than the forces which drive them apart, an inheritance come down to men of treasures which they had no hand in gathering, all this makes a country one. And in a historic Church, those whom Articles and law do not bind together, Creeds and Sacraments do; those whose convictions even on the Creeds differ, history, common government, the sense of corporate brotherhood and life, the tradition and usages of common worship, keep together. Antagonistic parties cannot all be right; unity may be daily threatened; but it has large and real foundations; and while it exists, it is not taken away by wishing or by theorizing it

it away. For there it is, as much a fact, and a fact of the same order, as the political unity of a commonwealth.

We do not doubt that, as Mr. Arnold says, there are many Nonconformists, and an increasing number of them, to whom Mr. Winterbotham's 'hideous confession' of the dominance in Dissenters, as a characteristic spirit, of a 'watchful jealousy' against the Church, which must see all things awry, finds little sympathy; and who, though they cannot see their way to union any more than the Church can to comprehension, yet, looking forward to happier times, see that in the Church is the most promising hope for drawing together those bodies which are now separated from her and from one another, and for realizing that unity which is a fundamental idea, if there is one, of the Christian society. If the noblest and the wisest of the Nonconformists could master the inferior but not less powerful and important elements of Nonconformity,—if the Nonconformists, instead of being flattered by liberal politicians and even by candid opponents, had more of their own friends to tell them honestly the hard truths which all bodies of men need to be told, and which, to her infinite benefit, are told so profusely by friends and enemies to the Church, the prospects of religion would be brighter. But there are other religious interests in England, and other claims to be attended to, than those of the Nonconformists, leaders or followers. By those who care for England and the religion of England, it is not in the interest of Nonconformity alone that the great questions before us will be considered. An equality of private associations, a competition of sects, cannot give what England has hitherto had and greatly prized: a public Church, not a mere philosophy or moral instrument of instruction, but a religious society, with an ancient, eventful, continuous history; with fixed conditions of worship and teaching, yet, with these conditions, in practice as liberal and forbearing as a religious society could have; with great sources in it, living and abundant, of ideas large, deep, elevated; with a spirit of liberty and tolerance, in spite of all the difficulties, which, not in religion only, but in every region of human thought, hamper liberty and tolerance; with great faculties for self-correction, for assimilation of new truths, for sympathy with the opening thoughts of men, combined with a resolute attachment and veneration for the past. The loss to England, the loss to a majority of Englishmen, of such an organization ought to be well weighed by those who are provoked because the Church is at once so stiff and so elastic; so complicated and rigorous in theory and law, and so open to individual opinion and caprice; because

because it is so patient in some directions and so inflexible in others; because congregations have so much to take their chance of teaching and of ways which they dislike. A price has to be paid for everything. There is no escaping the acknowledgment exacted by human inadequacy. Whether to have had and to have such a religious institution in England as the historical English Church does not outweigh many inconveniences and many anomalies, is a question the answer to which will gauge the wisdom, the longsightedness, and the power of disengaging ourselves from present impressions, in order to give reason its fair field, of those who have the future of England in their hands.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, we have received the very able and judicious letter of Sir J. T. Coleridge * addressed to Canon Liddon, wherein he makes some remarks on the advantages of an Establishment, which have so close a bearing on the subject of the preceding article, that we make no apology for transferring them to our pages:—

‘ On behalf, not so much of the clergy, as of the laity—on behalf of the worshippers in our churches, of the sick to be visited at home—of the poor in their cottages, of our children in their schools—of our society in general, I entreat those of the clergy who are now feeling the most acutely in this matter [the Purchas Judgment] not to suffer their minds to be so absorbed by the present grievance as to take no thought of the evils of disestablishment. I am not foolishly blind to faults in the clergy—indeed I fear I am sometimes even censorious in regard to them—and some of their faults I do think may be referable to Establishment; the possession of house and land, and a sort of independence of their parishioners, in some cases seems to tend to secularity. I regret sometimes their partisanship at elections, their speeches at public dinners. But what good gift of God is not liable to abuse from men? Taken as a whole, we have owed, and we do owe, under Him, to our Established Clergy, more than we can ever repay, much of it rendered possible by their Establishment. I may refer, and now with especial force, to Education—their services in this respect no one denies—and but for Establishment these, I think, could not have been so effectively and systematically rendered. We are now in a great crisis as to this all-important matter. Concurring, as I do heartily, in the praise which has been bestowed on Mr. Forster, and expecting that his great and arduous office will be discharged with perfect impartiality by him, and with a just sense how much is due to the clergy in this respect, still it cannot be denied that the powers conferred by the Legislature on the holder of it are alarmingly great, even if necessary; and who shall say in what a spirit they may be

* ‘Remarks on some parts of the Report of the Judicial Committee in the case of “Elphinstone against Purchas,” and on the course proper to be pursued by the Clergy in regard to it.’ 8vo. London, 1871.

exercised by his successor? For the general upholding of religious education, in emergencies not improbable, to whom can we look in general so confidently as to the Parochial Clergy? I speak now specially in regard to parishes such as I am most familiar with, in agricultural districts, small, not largely endowed, sometimes without resident gentry, and with the land occupied by rack-renting farmers, indifferent or hostile to education.

'I have but glanced at a very few of the benefits we owe to our Establishment; this is not the place for a full discussion of the whole great question—and if it were, I am not competent to the task—

"Nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum."

'If the evil, be it our trial or our chastisement, is to fall on us, I should not despair—I should still believe that the Church was under God's protection, and stripped as we might seem to be of this or that help or safeguard, I should still rely on His blessing our honest endeavours to perform the duties imposed on us. It will not be the first time that the Ark of the Church has seemed to be overwhelmed in the waves, and again has righted; if we are to go through the same trial with the same issue, only let us make a better use of our restoration than our forefathers did of the mercy vouchsafed to them.

'For the clergy to join in a political crusade to accelerate their dis-establishment would seem to me to argue such a dementation both as to the act and the object as would indeed almost cause the most confident to despair.

"Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridae."

The whole Letter deserves the attentive consideration of Churchmen at the present time. We had intended to offer some observations in reference to the controversy raised by the Purchas Judgment, but Sir John Coloridge has anticipated us in nearly all that we intended to say, and we therefore content ourselves with referring our readers to his excellent remarks upon the subject.

ART. VII.—1. *Recueil de Documents sur les Exactions, Vols, et Cruautés des Armées Prussiennes en France. Publié au Profit de la Société Internationale de Secours aux Blessés.* Première Partie. Bordeaux, 1871. 8vo.

2. *Meddelelser om Preussernes og Østerrigernes Færd i Slesvig.* Copenhagen, 1869. 8vo.

3. *The 'Dagbladet,'* 1871, No. 25. (Translated in the 'Standard,' February 10th, 1871.)

THE Seven Months' War is ended: the terms of peace are signed: our dazzled eyes and stunned hearing are gradually

dually recovering from the flash and din of the dread encounter. The world is returning to the domestic interests and the every-day pursuits, which have been suspended while we watched the death-struggle of two mighty nations. If we may not hope for a lasting peace, where, for the first time since the dealings of Rome with Carthage, terms have been imposed expressly in foresight of future war, we seem the more resolved to enjoy the respite which is ensured, if for no other reason, by the exhaustion of the combatants. And not, we trust, only to enjoy it, but to use it for the mitigation, if we cannot hope for the prevention, of the horrors which have been a prolonged torture to the least sensitive. As we read of ancient battles, where a pause was seized by those nearest and dearest to the combatants to rush between their warring kindred and bring them to a lasting alliance, so may the great family of nations interpose, while the suffering and disgust are fresh, not with womanly entreaties, but with counsels of true humanity and matured wisdom. The question, often asked with deep sorrow and indignant horror during the conflict—‘Are these, indeed, the *Usages of War*, and, if they are, ought they ever to be practised again?’—now presses for a final answer. And now, if ever, seems the time to obtain that answer from the united voice of the civilized peoples, before the war fades into the past, or the impression of it is obliterated by the new excitements of a busy and quickly-forgetting age. Nor will the work of civilization be complete till the nations of the world shall have established an international council—call it by what name you will—with a tribunal strong enough to put down international violence, and to administer justice between nation and nation as certainly and as peacefully as between man and man.

The difficulty, indeed, is far greater of bringing nations than men before such a tribunal, and of enforcing its awards with quiet certainty. Nor is this, as democratic sciolists tell us, the fault of royal or aristocratic or any other form of government. The world has indeed suffered untold horrors, innumerable victims have bled, and innumerable hearts have been broken, for the ambition of sovereigns and the policy of senates; and it was vainly thought that all this would end with the great change which has transferred political power to the peoples. But ambition moves nations as much as individuals; only with this aggravation of its evil working, that, while conscience may stop a single man in his wild career, nations have no such inward monitor; or, if there be indeed a national conscience, it awakens only long after the deed is done.

Some nations hold a position, in this respect, peculiarly dangerous

gerous to themselves and to the peace of the whole world. So long as there are countries, great and strong, where political power is held by a sovereign who may wield all the national resources for the gratification of his ambition or his personal ideas—be they avowedly selfish, or gilded over with the pretext of a noble aim—wars will not cease. Much less can there be any hope of lasting peace so long as there is in the very heart of Europe a nation whose jurists and statesmen, professors and political writers, join with one voice in proclaiming, as a fundamental principle of public law, that a right, however well assured, ceases to be a right so soon as its possessor is unable to enforce its observance; a nation which, having persuaded itself that it is the most advanced in civilization, is ready for any sacrifice to obtain the supremacy which it deems its due. What hope of peace is left when such views are cherished by a people at once the most numerous and the most homogeneous in Europe? when, by a course of preparation, skilfully contrived and carried out through a long series of years, this nation is ready, at the shortest notice, to rise up in a compact mass, with arms and equipments all complete, as suddenly and threateningly as Milton's fallen angels—

‘ Advanced in view they stand; a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms,
Awaiting what commands their mighty chief
Has to impose?’

The position of Prussia before the war was this: it could in a fortnight move 600,000 men to the frontier, whether of France or Belgium, Austria or Russia. What can the German empire do henceforth? Such a nation is nothing less than an enormous standing army on furlough, waiting to give practical effect to its lofty claims, and to reap the greatest possible advantage from every opportunity. The people which combines such political principles and aspirations with such an organization is not likely to shrink from war, but to seek it; nor, when successful, will it accept the arbitration of neutrals, save in the way in which the Germans accepted it at the London Conference of 1861, namely, on the express condition of not being bound by the award. The peoples of Russia and Germany must not only obtain a full control of their own affairs to prevent their being suddenly plunged into a statesman's war, they must also learn the lesson that dominion over others is no part of real greatness, but rather a hindrance to its attainment, or there will assuredly be no permanent peace in Europe. Even were that lesson now learnt, there would remain the fatal legacy of disappointment and revenge, left behind by a war undertaken, but too late, to prevent the establishment of such

such an overwhelmingly strong and ambitious military power, and ended on terms which cannot but excite, in all who are really acquainted with continental politics, the apprehension of a long period of disturbance.

But, though the establishment of permanent peace seems destined to remain a philosophic day-dream, and though war is the negation of the first principles of law and order, it need not remain altogether beyond the influence of civilization. Few will deny that war is an evil, even if unavoidable, inasmuch as it sacrifices the results of past labour and the very means of future production ; as it inflames some of the worst passions of men with the lurid glare of false glory ; and not only gives them the opportunity to gratify their greed and cruelty, but even enjoins upon them, as to a certain extent a duty, to violate what all the laws of peace hold most sacred—the life and property of others. Surely, then, the operation of such a baneful system should be as closely circumscribed as possible ; and this restraint can never be imposed while the principle is practically admitted that the unlimited right of superior force is the only law of war. Whether this principle should be allowed, or denied, or reversed (if it exists), is the question which the late war has brought out into full view, and which ought to be solved before a new war begins.

It may be argued but too truly that the prospect of obtaining the general assent of nations to a limitation of the right of superior force is not encouraging, seeing that the conduct of the late war by the victorious party can only be justified by the assumption that power of execution is the main element of right. For, if might is right, it follows that any limitation of the exercise of superior force is a limitation of right ; and those who make *that* their law of international relations should consistently scorn any discussion of all limitations as much as they scorn interference between themselves and their fallen foe. Yet, even with them, it may not be useless to seek some settlement of the question—‘What are to be regarded as the proper usages of war?’ For, though they should reject the principles on which our whole argument is based, there are practical considerations which might induce them to adopt some, at least, of those restrictions on the exercise of triumphant physical force, which humanity and philosophy would impose. If they are insensible to the reasons for limiting the disturbing effects of war on the peaceful pursuits on which the happiness of mankind depends ; if they care not to check the demoralization which invariably accompanies the unrestrained exercise of physical violence ; they may yet confess the possibility of aggravated retaliation.

retaliation. It is, in fact, to the persuasive power of such practical considerations that we must look for our guarantee of the observance of better usages, even if they were adopted as public law by a general European convention. For the essential weakness of the 'executive principle' in the law of nations is now aggravated by the predominance of Germany, under the leadership of Prussia. According to the political principles which have governed that state since the time of Frederick II., treaties seem to be only memoranda of the terms of armistice, which need be no longer observed when one of the contracting parties deems it advantageous to disregard them.

There was always this difference between international and domestic law, that the former did not emanate from a legislature, and that there was no tribunal to appeal to in cases of doubtful interpretation or direct contravention of its principles. Apart from the stipulations of treaties, international law was never anything more than a collection of the opinions of jurists, founded on the analogy of ordinary civil law. Those opinions, however, found acceptance with princes and peoples, not only for the beneficial effects of their observance, but on the far higher ground of their agreement with those primary notions of right and equity, to which we almost instinctively give our assent. Hence it is only from those who at least affect a desire to be just-minded that we can expect a favourable response when these opinions are appealed to. Yet it would be unreasonable not to hope for a better state of public conscience; and, the more it seems likely that wars will be of frequent occurrence for some time to come, the more advisable it is to strive to obtain whatever assent we can to some definite settlement of what the usages of war shall be. The practical settlement of the question can be approached in no other way than by exposing the evil usages illustrated by the recent war. To find a remedy we must search out the disease.

Our readers have only too fresh and painful a remembrance of the numerous complaints of violations of the usages of war, which have been made particularly against the Germans. Facts enough have been proved beyond controversy, not only to have roused the deep indignation of all who sympathised with the French, but to cause many, whose political sympathies were with the other side, to share the same indignation, and to be ashamed of their friends. Of course it is not every report made in newspapers and private letters that is to be believed. The accounts of French papers could not be expected to be free from prejudice; nor could any editorial care prevent the insertion of statements which were exaggerated or even false, either because

they

they did not come from trustworthy eye-witnesses, or because even these had their judgment clouded by the excitement of harassing events. Therefore, without casting any slur on the honour of French journalists, it will be safe to regard reports in French papers, when not otherwise confirmed, as quite worthless for the present inquiry. It would be as unfair to judge the conduct of the German armies in France by the French papers, as it would have been to have judged the conduct of the French in Germany (if they had penetrated so far) by the German papers. To show how cautious we ought to be in adopting the statements of parties directly interested, we need only refer to the famous telegram received in London shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, to the effect that the French had shelled and destroyed the open and flourishing town of Saarbrück. This story did not fail to produce, at the time, the intended effect of a strong feeling of indignation against the French; but its falsehood was soon exposed by the concurrent testimony of many travellers of all nations, not excepting Germans, who attested the fact that not the slightest damage had been done to the town. Statements of this sort—for which the Germans have a very expressive word, *Tendenzlüge* ('lies with a purpose')—are set on foot for the especial benefit of credulous neutrals. The game flourishes particularly at the beginning of a war or of a quarrel; and it certainly brings some advantage to the party which succeeds in it, before its true nature is found out.

Nor does even the German press itself afford better materials for judging of the conduct of the German armies. The atrocities recorded by their own papers—and sometimes boasted of, though sometimes reprobated—are so revolting that, if they were true, they would of themselves furnish a most terrible indictment. But no one who is acquainted with the position of the press in Germany, which is far below that of England, would dream of deriving his facts from such a source. German editors, with one or two exceptions, are so reckless in giving publicity to the most absurd and exaggerated reports, if they suit their purpose, that we are bound to distrust their statements, if not otherwise confirmed, even when they deeply implicate the national honour. It is only from the accounts of English travellers and the correspondents of the best papers—and only from these when they relate not merely what they have heard, but what they have seen and investigated for themselves—that we can derive something like trustworthy information: and of such evidence there is no lack.

When, therefore, we cite the French pamphlet at the head of this article, it is not because we believe that everything it contains

contains may be taken for granted—although evident care has been used in the selection of the facts alleged,—but because it is but one link in a series of cumulative testimony. The Prussian attack on Denmark, in 1864, called forth similar publications and similar remonstrances—one of which is given at the head of the present article—not only from the Danish press, but through the diplomatic agents of Denmark at foreign courts. The most prominent of the acts complained of in that country were lately discussed in a short *résumé* by a leading journal of Copenhagen (the 'Dagbladet'), and reproduced in the 'Standard,' and in several continental newspapers. Among these, one of the principal journals of Vienna added the statement, that, short as the war had been between Austria and Prussia, the Prussian armies had left the same reputation behind them in Austria as in Denmark; and it is the same that they have now earned on a larger scale in France.

Nor has the French Government omitted to enter its official protest against the German mode of warfare. Our readers remember the circular of Count Chaudordy (29th Nov., 1870); and it will also be recollected that Prince Bismarck, in his very tardy reply, did not attempt to dispute the allegations of the French minister, but met them by counter-charges, such as firing on ambulances, *parlementaires*, and the like. These were occurrences of quite a different nature from those exposed by Count Chaudordy, being attributable rather to the misconduct of individuals than to a system of warfare officially adopted. But even with regard to this class of offences, the French minister showed that the German soldiers had by no means behaved better than their opponents: while he disproved some charges, he rendered others very doubtful, leaving the balance just as it was before the reply of Prince Bismarck. The main allegations of Count Chaudordy, referring to acts executed by the German soldiers in compliance with superior orders, must be taken as admitted. It is with these alone that our subject requires us to deal; and the discussion is rather one of principle than of fact.

Admitting that these acts, which our argument will require us to describe more fully presently, have been done, the defenders of the German cause have attempted to justify them by various pleas. They allege that the French would have behaved as badly or worse, had they entered Germany; or, that such things have been done before; or, lastly, that these are the usages of war. As for the first of these pleas, could anything be imagined more childishly absurd in the way of justification? Who can possibly know what the French would have done in Germany? Or when was it ever a law, that a man might do to his neighbour

'bour the evil which he fancied his neighbour would do to him if he had a chance? Suppose the case had been reversed, and that the French, having invaded Germany, and committed all manner of atrocities, had pleaded that the Germans would have done the same if they had forced their way into France! How would the Germans have denounced this wretched sophistry! All the presses of the Fatherland would not have sufficed to print the denunciations with which the world would have been deluged. But the only difference to *our* argument would have been this: we should then have had to say of the French what we have now to say of the Germans. In either case the question would remain one of principle, to be decided according to what is right and wrong.

The plea, that outrages such as these have been perpetrated before, is no less insulting to our understanding than the first. If precedent is to justify bad deeds, there is no deed so bad as ever to lack a justifying precedent. Nor is the plea improved if it be meant for an *argumentum ad hominem* (or *ad populum*)—if it be urged that at some distant time (say half-a-century or more ago), the fathers of the recent sufferers committed similar outrages against the fathers of their present conquerors. Suppose the allegation true—which it would not be in most of the specific points now before us—is such a plea to be urged by a nation which boasts itself the chief champion of the highest patriotic right, inspired by the profoundest philosophy? Savages, whose only international law is retaliation, might urge this plea, 'for 'tis their nature to ;' but the same rule which admits the plea in their case brings down the civilized nation that claims its benefit to the level of the savage. Such a nation confesses that, for the time at least, it allows passion to get the better of principle and knowledge, of civilization and Christianity. There remains the appeal to the usages of war; and this involves the whole discussion of the principles by which those usages should be governed.

In attempting to define the principles on which war should be conducted, so that an inhuman anti-social evil, confessed (under protest) to be at present unavoidable, may do the least possible mischief to society and humanity, and in pointing out those features of the system in respect to which some international agreement would be desirable, we abstain from quoting authorities, because their *dicta* are conflicting on many points, and there are none which are universally accepted nor which are generally respected. We will confine ourselves to arguments derived from this fundamental truth—that war is an evil of which the effects and operation should be limited to the utmost, consistent with its

its legitimate objects. What those legitimate objects are, is another great question, which it would only complicate our present argument to discuss. It is enough to describe the principle of war, in one word, as the use of physical force, by one nation towards another, involving coercion and the destruction of life, property, and resources, in order to exact some right claimed, or the redress of some wrong done, or to repel aggression. But what amount of destruction of life and property does this sanction? Clearly not more than is absolutely required in order so to weaken the armies and cripple the resources of the enemy as to bring him to confess his defeat and to yield the matter in dispute. Weapons are used, not to kill soldiers for the sake of killing, but to disable them for the time, and in no case to entail on them needless present or future suffering. Material resources are to be diverted from the enemy's use, and applied to one's own, but only for the time,—not to be wantonly destroyed. We purposely avoid the question, whether any war, save one purely defensive, is justifiable; not only because it involves a distinction almost impossible to draw, but chiefly because our present argument deals with war in itself, as an evil admitted, for the sake of argument, to be necessary. Having made this concession to the worser passions of humanity, we claim that its better feelings, and that sense of right and wrong which is above all mere feeling, should limit, restrain, and govern the exercise of violence, the infliction of death, and of sufferings often worse than death—whether upon the widow and orphan or on the soldier who has escaped with life which is often a living death, or on the civilian whom a cruel law adds to the ~~he~~tomb of victims—and the destruction of property, the fruits of industry, and the means of production, not to speak of the wasted beauties of fields and gardens and desecrated objects of fond attachment amidst the ruined household gods: and the limitation that we claim for all these evils is one far different from that confessed even by 'the tyrant's plea, necessity.'

And first, as to the slaughter and sufferings of the field, where 'every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood.' It is well that the first instincts of humanity—the love of life and the aversion to killing, the shrinking both from suffering in one's own person, and from witnessing or even hearing of its infliction on our fellow men—rise up in constant protest against this first necessity of war, and perpetually call aloud for the mitigation of its evils. If the higher strategic view of war, in likening a campaign to a game of chess, is apt to make us forget that men of flesh and blood are not mere pawns, the same view is a standing protest against

against the destruction of every life, the infliction of every wound, that does not bear upon the issue of the fight, and against all needless cruelty in the means of putting an enemy *hors de combat*—a phrase, by the way, which expresses, with the felicity of the French tongue, the simple object to be attained. Killing for its own sake, under the impulse of cruelty or passion, fighting without giving quarter, and the wanton massacre of prisoners—these acts, and such as these, have been condemned by all nations beyond the savage state; and the fact that even these have still been perpetrated is the strongest proof of the essential lawlessness which war is ever betraying. The question of the weapons and missiles which should be permitted or forbidden has derived new interest, and has indeed been pressed upon the humane, by that rapid progress in death-dealing inventions, which has marked our boasted material civilization almost from that epoch of delusive hope when the first international exhibition was free from all such inventions.

This is one of the points on which we have to record a hopeful beginning in the course for which we now contend—the more hopeful, as it had its origin not in the policy of statesmen, but in that spontaneous utterance of humanity which happily found a practical expression in the *Convention of Geneva*. Thus much has been agreed by the nations of Europe, that, while any invention is allowable which weakens an enemy in battle by increasing the number of wounded in a given time, no weapons should be used which merely aggravate suffering or make disabling wounds more surely mortal, such as explosive bullets and the like. In this respect the late war has furnished no cause for seeking any new international agreement. Prince Bismarck did indeed attempt, at the very beginning of the war, to fasten on the French Government the odium of having violated the Convention of Geneva by the use of explosive bullets for the mitrailleuse; but this statement was quickly proved to be as erroneous as the telegram about Saarbrück. At all events, as the French Government repudiated all responsibility for any such acts, which they acknowledged would have been a national dis honour if done by them, no question of principle is involved in this case.

A sick or wounded soldier is no longer an agent of war, but simply a suffering man, with all the claims to forbearance and relief which his state makes upon the common humanity of enemies and friends and self-devoted helpers. Here again we have to thank the Geneva Convention for the formal recognition of the neutrality and immunity of ambulances and their *personnel*; and to record, as a triumph of principle at least, that this agreement

inent has not been expressly repudiated by either party in the recent war. The mutual charges of firing upon ambulances may fairly be explained by the mistakes which are unavoidable in action, or by that recklessness of individuals for which the whole body cannot be held responsible. Again, both French and Germans have been accused of removing sick and wounded prisoners with but little regard for their comfort; but in this respect also neither party has repudiated the claims of humanity, and any faulty arrangements may be excused by the unforeseen pressure arising from the fearful carnage of a rapid series of gigantic battles. But this excuse cannot be allowed for the heartrending reports of difficulties which were encountered from the Germans in many cases by directors of the international ambulances, and which no appeals to superior authority availed to remove. We need only refer, for an example, to the uncontradicted report of what took place at Versailles itself, the headquarters of the King of Prussia. After the fight at Brie and Champigny, the Dutch ambulance under M. van der Welde was taken possession of by the Prussians, the wounded French were thrown out on the floor, and the medical attendants were obliged to return to Holland with the loss of all their materials.

One of the plainest consequences of the simple rule of humanity, which imposes every possible limit on the taking of human life, is the sparing of the lives of combatants who lay down their arms. But this privilege of 'quarter' belongs only to the constituted soldiers of a country; and the mode of drawing the distinction between such and those who have no right to claim it, is a feature of the German proceedings which has attracted peculiar notice. The principle itself is not free from difficulty, and it is liable to be confused by the different organizations of national armies. In the early stages of civilization, the only distinction allowed is between those capable of bearing arms and those incapable from age or sex or physical infirmity. Every man able to fight is expected to take a part in all the warlike expeditions of his nation, or at least in the defence of his city and his hearth. Every man is trained to play this part, on pain of forfeiting the esteem even of his enemies; and while ignominy brands the coward and the skulker, the defeated warrior pays the foreseen penalty of death or slavery. Such is the alternative for every member of a savage or semi-barbarous state. But the growth of organized commonwealths, with all their complicated relations of trade and industry, led to the system of hiring voluntary soldiers, who formed a sort of separate society, standing forth from the civilized population, both to inflict on an enemy and to suffer from him the direct and personal injurics of war. This

This system had at first an effect in two opposite directions in mediæval Europe. When war ceased to be the obligation of feudal tenure, and prosperous communities hired soldiers to fight for them, the mercenary bands formed a sort of profession, with a freemasonry of its own. The victor had an interest in so treating the vanquished as to establish a law for his own protection when fortune might be reversed ; but the helpless people were a common prey for both. From this state of things, especially in the constant wars of the Italian Republics, we may trace much of that respect for the soldier, and tyranny over the civilian, which marks the modern usage of war. At the same time, one of the first effects of advancing civilization upon the mode of warfare has been a universal tendency to the lenient treatment of the vanquished and the exemption of the non-combatant from injury. This course is recommended alike by practical considerations and by personal motives. It is for the advantage of a conqueror that the new provinces he may acquire should neither be desolated by war nor disaffected through a rankling memory of outrage. It is the cherished desire of princes to be praised, not only for military skill and prowess, but for justice and clemency. Above all, this spirit has been nourished and strengthened by the influence of Christianity.

Until lately, therefore, it was thought to be an established usage of civilized war, as distinct from savage raids, that the non-combatant part of the population might count on security for life and property, so long as they abstained from acts of resistance, and supplied, according to their ability, such necessaries as the invading force might need. And this is in accordance with the general proposition, that the objects of war are to be obtained, not by annihilating the forces and resources of the enemy, but only by disabling them for the time. This object is at once accomplished as far as an enemy's country is invaded. For the non-combatant population has of course been contributing its share to the defence of the country, in the shape of taxes and so forth ; but the invading force cuts off such contributions, and even diverts the resources of the occupied territory to its own use. All indirect participation of such a district in the war being thus paralyzed, there is no justification for any further measures which are only calculated to cause needless vexation. The respect for private property and for the personal security of non-combatants is, therefore, justly regarded as one of those restraints upon the use of superior force, which tend to diminish the ill effects of war both on the pursuits of peaceful life and on the morality of the combatants themselves. There is, in fact, a sort of compact between the two parties, on terms which ought to be

be equally binding, but the means of enforcing which are unhappily most unequal. The infraction of this compact by the conquering force is justly reprobated, as contrary to the principles which ought to guide a civilized people; while its infraction by the inhabitants forfeits their claim to security. If the local authorities refuse to supply the invading forces with real necessities which it is within their power to supply, then the military authorities are justified in taking what they want, wherever they find it; nor can they be expected to exercise the discrimination which might be desired. The rule, that civilians taken in actual armed resistance are not entitled to quarter, is founded on the practical consideration, that the military cannot be on their guard against the attack of persons who, not being in uniform, cannot be known beforehand as enemies, or afterwards recognized as combatants.

Thus far there is no conflict of opinion. But it is alleged that the Germans have gone far beyond what is reasonable in their demands on the civil population, and further that they have had recourse to barbarous measures for extorting their demands. If the alleged facts were disputed by the Germans, or if they were excused on the plea that subordinates had exceeded their orders, there would be cause for regret that such things had occurred, but there would be no occasion for an international discussion of the subject. But the Germans do not deny the facts, upon the whole, but fall back upon the ever-recurring plea, that such is their interpretation of the usages of war—a plea which ever brings us back to the alternative, Are they so indeed, or ought they to continue so? Here is a most serious and lamentable difference of opinion, of which it is absolutely necessary to obtain a settlement before another war breaks out. For our part, we believe that the German proceedings will prove, upon examination, to involve the most glaring self-contradiction, and to go far towards obliterating altogether that distinction between combatants and non-combatants, which is essential to civilized warfare.

What those proceedings have really been may be briefly told in the words, not of a resentful Dane or an agonized and humiliated Frenchman, but of an impartial English officer, who is at the same time one of the highest military authorities of our day. In the 'Times' of January 24th, 1871, Colonel Hamley thus sums up the case, and exposes the inconsistency which makes us exclaim, with the Greek tragedian—

'Απόλεμος όδε γ' ο πύλεμος ἄπορα πόρυμος.

‘The “laws of war” as promulgated by the Prussians may be condensed in the case of invasion into the general axiom that the population

tion of the invaded country lose their rights of property and of personal security, while the persons and effects of the invaders become absolutely sacred. In practice, this takes the two distinct forms of the law of requisition and the law of penalty for resistance. Every species of moveable property which any district held by the invader contains is subject to the demands of the commander of the troops that occupy it. This property is liable to be transported to particular points by the horses and vehicles of the inhabitants, which always form an important item in the booty. The penalty for non-compliance, or tardy compliance, with a requisition is a pecuniary fine. For the payment of this the chief inhabitants are seized as hostages. The town or village, the inhabitants of which protect their property, is to be burnt. The town or village, in which invading troops have suffered themselves to be surprised, is to be burnt. The district in which damage is done to bridges, roads, or railways is to be fined or devastated. The inhabitants who do the damage are to be put to death. Everybody taken with arms and not wearing a recognized uniform is to be put to death. All these things are they not written in the orders issued by Prussian chiefs, and have not those orders been punctually executed?

' In ordinary cases, to confiscate property by force, to burn buildings and stores, and to put people to death for such reasons as those quoted, are acts bearing names which need not be mentioned. It is difficult to say why these acts should lose their character if committed by invaders. And it is to be observed that the enforcement of these "laws of war" is not merely the annulling of ordinary law, but the inversion of it. For, whereas a man in all peaceful countries is entitled and encouraged to defend his own property and person, while he who assails them does so at his own proper risk, in this case defence suddenly becomes a crime to be visited by the extremest penalties, and it is the aggressor who is to be protected by laws of extraordinary severity.

' If it were asserted that a victor might do exactly what he pleased, there would be, in such a claim, nothing to cavil at, though much to object to. But this is not the case. The "laws of war" have so far a meaning, that the victor does not put the vanquished who are clad in uniform to death; and as to property, the case of the officer whom your Correspondent saw stabling a spoon is said to be the subject of indignant inquiry, the investigators being, doubtless, those who have themselves enforced enormous requisitions. The fact that conquerors acknowledge certain obligations renders the prospect of imposing on them further restrictions rather more hopeful.

' The operations of those "laws of war" are sufficiently manifest. A great part of the most productive territory of France is a solitude and a wilderness, to cause which to re-blossom will be a task more arduous than to form a settlement in a savage country.'

As to the German *requisitions*, it cannot be denied that they have in many cases exceeded all reasonable limits. Eight millions

millions sterling extorted from Paris may have been within the means of so wealthy a city ; and perhaps Châlons could pay its 64,000*l.*, Reims its 120,000*l.*, and Nancy its 200,000*l.* ; but requisitions of 25 francs (1*l.*) a head in country villages, besides exhaustive demands of provisions of all kinds, cannot be called otherwise than exorbitant. Indeed, the whole system of forced requisitions, except for absolutely necessary supplies where the inhabitants refuse to give them in return for a fair price, is wrong in principle and of very doubtful policy. As a correspondent well argues :—

‘ Whenever an army pays the fair market price for the supplies furnished to it by the inhabitants, a spontaneous action sets in for replacing these supplies. In exchange for the provisions they furnish, the inhabitants receive the means of replenishing their stores, and the certainty of a market and security from requisitions encourages importations from neighbouring districts and from foreign countries. The requisition system, on the other hand, puts a stop to all voluntary importations from neighbouring districts ; and, therefore, when the existing supplies are exhausted, the inhabitants are in danger of starvation, and the armies must be supported by what their own commissariat can bring them from home or from other districts. But while it seems to me both practicable and highly desirable to establish a rule that all armies, both large and small, should pay a fair price for supplies furnished to them, I regard it as quite impracticable to extend this rule so as to prohibit the compulsory taking of provisions where the inhabitants refuse to supply them. The notion that an invading army should be bound to starve in the midst of plenty, merely because the inhabitants are too patriotic to sell them anything, is manifestly Utopian.’

But when the requisitions become *penal* in principle and indefinite in amount, the excuse of necessity ceases, and the successful invader is exacting from the peaceful people, without check or measure, what ought to be claimed from the Government as the price of peace after full negociation. When, moreover, the gentlemen and clergymen of the neighbourhood have been carried off as hostages for the payment of these arbitrarily-imposed contributions, it is hard to see the difference between such proceedings and those of Neapolitan brigands, or of the modern heroes of the plain of Marathon. Yet this system is a regular feature in Prussian warfare. It was practised in Denmark as well as in France ; and the extreme want of consideration with which these hostages, generally persons of the higher classes of society, have been treated, completes the parallel just indicated.

Nor is this a new complaint. Lord Palmerston, whom none will suspect of prejudice or sentimental exaggeration, has left

left on record not only what he saw and heard in 1815, but the decisive judgment of the Duke of Wellington:—

‘ Wherever we passed [in Normandy] we heard complaints of the Prussians, who seemed to have behaved roughly. At the same time, when one asked details, with the exception of some particular cases of individual excess, they appeared to have chiefly confined themselves to *heavy contributions*. . . . We asked if they had had any English. The woman replied, “*Non Monsieur, malheureusement.*” They told us that it is an old saying in Normandy, of a man who is working against his will for the advantage of another—“*Qu'il travaille pour le roi de Prusse.*” They used to apply it to the *corvées*, but they now have more appropriate occasions for using it.’—*Journal of Tours in France*, p. 10.

He reports the following contrast as drawn by the Duke himself:—

‘ The Prussian army started with double his force, but by the time they reached Paris he was as strong as they were, though he had received no reinforcements, and they had not lost any great number in battle. But their discipline was so relaxed that their numbers rapidly diminished during the march. He had brought 60,000 to Paris, and they not more than that force. The system of individual plunder had been the ruin of the French army, and would be the destruction of the Prussian. When officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves; and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow. War then assumed a new character, the profession of arms became a mercenary speculation, and the officer's thoughts grew to be directed to the acquisition of plunder instead of the attainment of glory. The Duke had succeeded in keeping his army well in hand. No officer was permitted to make any requisition himself, but was obliged to state his wants to the commissary, who applied to the agents of the French Government for the articles required; and the supply being made through channels known to the people, and by authorities recognized by them, the burthen was not felt to be so oppressive as if the exaction had been made by the immediate order of an enemy, and at the caprice of individual officers. The consequence was, that, though both the Prussians and ourselves lived equally at the expence of the country, the first are detested and the latter liked.

‘ On the march to Paris Blucher's army crossed the line that Wellington meant to take, they having got before him while he halted to take Cambrai. He advanced through a tract of country which the Prussians had actually been starved out of, and yet he found no difficulty in obtaining supplies. The inhabitants, who had deserted their villages at the approach of the Prussians, returned the moment our troops came up, and, confidence being restored, provisions followed of course.’—*Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

The sagacity of the great captain's judgment, that *requisition*

sition leads to *spoliation*, has been too well proved in the recent war.

As for the more irregular kinds of spoliation, it may perhaps be doubted whether the Prussian soldiers have carried off furniture, pianos, and such small articles, by wholesale; though, if we remember aright, the testimony of the German author and correspondent, Hans Wachenhausen, might be cited for the fact. But it seems undeniable that a system went on extensively, which may be variously described as 'looting,' or, in gentler German phrase, 'saving' or 'carrying away as a *souvenir*,' or, under the commercial disguise humorously affected by the Bavarians, 'buying it for 5 *sous*.' Nor do the officers seem to have considered a share in the business dishonourable, though sometimes they preferred to carry it on through the agency of their soldiers. There was a grimly comic unconsciousness, or a cynical shamelessness, in a case which we remember hearing from a Danish friend. A country-woman of his, visiting Germany after the Danish war of 1849, was introduced to a Prussian officer, who told her without the least reserve that he remembered her father's house, from which 'he had been able to carry away many *souvenirs*, which had proved very acceptable presents to his sisters and cousins'—as the lady could well believe, for her home had been stripped of every portable article of value.

This sort of pillage has been excused, when practised upon savage or semi-barbarous enemies, who might perhaps scarcely know themselves to be vanquished if they were treated with the leniency of civilized warfare; but those who use it against civilized nations prove themselves but half-civilized. It is a clear violation of the principle of respect for private property: and it is as mean as it is unjust; for pillaging from the houses of unoffending inhabitants, who cannot defend their property save at the peril of their lives, is as bad as pillaging from the dead. To make an invaded country sustain the occupying forces is an established usage, and no more to be objected to than making the vanquished pay the real costs of war. But when the inhabitants are subjected to extortion beyond their means; when the troops not only take what they really want, but carry off objects for the sake of their commercial value, or for selfish pleasure and caprice; when the vanquished are forced to pay two or three times the cost of the campaign; when, in a word, 'glorious war' is made a profitable speculation;—we seem to be thrown back a thousand years and more in the history of Europe, from the civilization of the nineteenth century to the days of the old Vikings, the Saxon pirates, and the Gothic spoilers. Indeed, a German professor,

of the first eminence as an historian, has cynically drawn (for another purpose) the parallel between the hordes of Alaric round Rome and the hosts of Kaiser Wilhelm about Paris.*

Still more to be deprecated is the wanton destruction of property without any military or even personal advantage ; and of this but too many cases have occurred. We grant that necessities often arise in war, which can only be understood by the parties interested and by persons on the spot. Woods and plantations, for example, have to be cut down, in order to barricade roads or to deprive the enemy of shelter : sheds, huts, fittings, and even furniture, have to be used for fuel. Round Paris, in particular, this sort of destruction went on to a great extent ; but in many cases doubtless there was no choice. Supposing that a German officer might, for his own part, have had the self-denial rather to go without fire, during the late severe winter, than coolly to destroy furniture, he would still have been responsible for the health and comfort of his men, who might have suffered more in their persons, than the householder in his purse, by sparing the furniture if no other fuel was available. We use the last word, not forgetting the delusive resource of the green wood, which convinced the famous 'Besieged Resident' that there *could* be smoke without a fire. Granting all this, there remain too many cases of wanton destruction, on the most frivolous pretexts ; and in these instances, again, the Germans repeated their former conduct in Denmark. There, also, it was complained that they destroyed public works and monuments, and property of all kinds, without the smallest military or any other advantage to themselves, and that not because of any lack of discipline, but in obedience to the specific orders of their highest officers.

* At the conclusion of a lecture on the Roman Catacombs, on the 13th of January last, Theodore Mommsen thus described the siege of Rome by the Gothic invaders :—'The Roman knows nothing of what is outside his city walls, and despises it ; for strangers, under the disguise of a most ready courtesy, he has at bottom nothing but a contempt. . . . The inroad of Alaric and his Goths had been wantonly brought upon themselves. . . . Despite the prodigious circumference of the walls, all the twelve gates were beset ; traffic was closed upon the Tiber, the pressure of famine commenced, they began to portion out the bread per head, then to distribute half-rations, and at last one-third rations only, as the necessity gradually became more terrible. Pestilence and contagion began their fearful work in the invested space ; it became impossible so much as to bury the dead, for the cemeteries were all in the occupation of the enemy. The besieged threatened a sortie *en masse* ; the Goth laughed, and said, "The thicker the grass the better cuts the sickle." The Government resided far away in Ravenna ; it sent bodies of troops to raise the siege, but they never reached, and were destroyed one by one. The Goth tried many ways of extorting a peace ; he demanded requisitions in money and grain, and the cession of Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia. They offered him gold and silver "as much as he would," but beyond that he could gain nothing. The Emperor Honorius and all his officials swore they would never make peace with Alaric, but wage eternal war against him,' &c.

As to France, we might give a chain of examples from the beginning of the war to this very day (April 5th), when we read in the 'Times,' from an English correspondent:—

' This same Mayor we found with some difficulty, as his own house was empty, the Prussians having made him a prisoner when they first arrived, and demolished the domestic possessions of the family because he could not produce within half an hour the number of cows, oxen, sheep, pigs, and other animals required for a day's provision of a regiment of Uhlans.

* * * * *

' The Mayoress, an active, sprightly little woman, was inexhaustible in her information about the atrocities committed in the village, which I am glad to say did not include any murders, although they comprised the complete pillage and clearing out of every inhabitant of the commune.'

Some exceptions are very significant:—

' I noticed especially the contrast one of these [villages] called La Ferrière presented to its neighbours. Green patches surrounded it in every direction, and it was not till the Marquis told me that the owner was a Princesso do Polenais that I understood the secret of its preservation. *She is a Russian by birth, and I had had occasion more than once to notice the delicacy and consideration with which everything Russian was approached by the German army.*'

This question of private property becomes still more important in reference to the attacks of artillery upon towns. One of the first necessities of war is the use of houses, villages, and towns for the defence of combatants and the hindrance of an enemy; and it is a correlative necessity that, when so used, they are fired upon with cannon. All the damage that ensues to property under such circumstances must be set down among the unavoidable evils of war, for which the military are not responsible; but not so all the loss of life. In the cases of towns, where houses and people are gathered in a space so narrow that every shell may have its victim, humanity requires notice to be given, if possible, to allow civilians to get out of the way. In attacks that only form episodes in a battle, which must be decided in the short space of a day, time is too precious to give such notice, and the battle is itself a warning to the villagers. There is the more reason for giving such notice to a large town, as its evacuation by the defenders, in order to avoid a conflict, may often be an advantage to the assailants well worth a short delay. At Orleans, accordingly, the Germans gave notice of bombardment after the defeat of the Army of the Loire, and the French withdrew. But when a town is shelled to dislodge an enemy, without giving the notice which time allows, or to gain possession of it when it is known not to be occupied

occupied by troops who mean to defend it, this is clearly an act of unnecessary cruelty. Yet this is what was done to Tours.

The case is different in fortified places, where the defenders do not use the houses of the inhabitants as their strongholds, but take their stand upon the ramparts ; and where the garrison and its stores are generally protected from the hostile fire by casemates. This position is altogether unlike that of troops who have barricaded themselves in the streets and houses of an open town or village, whence they are compelled by artillery to retire, wholly or in part, that the attacking force may carry the position. But the ruin of the houses of the people in a fortified town is in most cases useless in a military point of view ; nor, unless the governor postpones his military duty to the humane desire of ending the sufferings of the unoffending people, does even the entire destruction of a fortified town hasten its surrender. It is true that, even when the fire is directed only against the ramparts, some of the houses near them will inevitably be destroyed ; and for this reason notice of the attack ought to be given. But, with or without notice, the destruction of the interior of a fortified town by incendiary shells, intended for this purpose only, is an outrage on the first principle of civilized warfare, that of avoiding all useless bloodshed and destruction.

Yet of this the Germans have been often guilty during the recent war. The great city of Strassburg, their coveted prize, peopled by those whom they claimed as Teutonic brethren, was to a great extent, and purposely, battered and burnt down before any damage whatever was done to the ramparts. As soon as a conflagration broke out near the Cathedral, destroying the ancient library with its incalculable treasures, a storm of projectiles was concentrated on the spot to prevent the working of the fire-engines. We are not concerned to deny that all this has been done before : it is no new fact in military history. But it is none the less for that a barbarous proceeding ; and we are as earnest in denouncing barbarous precedents as in exposing barbarous innovations. The result proved how useless was the deed. The fortress capitulated only when a practicable breach had been made in the defences, and its fate, in a purely military point of view, was sealed. In other cases, indeed, fortresses have yielded to the horrors of a bombardment, because the commandants have had the humanity which the assailant generals wanted. But what sort of a victory is this—to attain military objects by working upon those humane feelings in an enemy, against which one's own heart is hardened ! Could the most barbarous savage more cruelly outrage the better nature of his victim while giving full scope to the evil of his own ? It is a ‘seething of the kid in its mother's milk.’ And yet the apologists for Germany in this country have attempted to

throw the blame of the misery thus caused upon the defenders, who were slow to put aside their military duty for humane considerations, rather than upon the assailants, who have worked the engine of coercion with such inhuman callousness! If such a plea is serious, we can only see in it that perverseness of judgment which is both engendered by, and betrays the consciousness of, having to defend a doubtful cause. Setting aside this barbarous method of coercion, the utter uselessness of the bombardments of Strassburg and Paris will make them an everlasting disgrace to the German name. And here again we must go back to the Danish wars, in which acts, almost overlooked through the smallness of the victimized towns, acquire a new significance by repetition on a larger scale. In 1864 the town of Sönderborg was bombarded and almost entirely destroyed, though it was situated on an island far behind the Danish positions, so that the Prussians could not obtain possession of it. The only result, besides the ruin of the inhabitants, was that the hospitals established there had to be removed, and that the Danish soldiers found their quarters less comfortable on their return after the bombardment. To suppose that the Prussian staff-officers expected the shelling of the town to have any influence on the issue of the siege would be a bad compliment to their military judgment.

We now approach the most painful part of the whole controversy—the interpretation of that abstinence from armed hostility which is required from the civil population as their part of the compact described above. We have agreed that civilians taken in armed resistance have no right to quarter: and now the question arises, Where should the line be drawn between civilians and soldiers? To this the Prussian authorities gave a distinct answer. Their proclamations refused to recognise as soldiers any one not belonging to the army of the line or to the *Garde Mobile*. Yet it is difficult to see why defensive bodies, raised from the classes not embraced in these two categories, should not be considered as soldiers. One class of combatants, in particular, brought this question to a crucial test. It is, doubtless, according to rule that an individual not belonging to any organized body, not acting under any body's orders, not wearing any other dress than that of a civilian, should not be recognised and treated as a soldier. But the Prussian authorities refused to recognise the *Francs-tireurs*, though they did form organized troops under regular officers, though they fought with the sanction of the French Government, were placed under the command of the generals of the armies with which they co-operated, and wore a dress, not, perhaps, in accordance with the very narrow Prussian ideas of a military uniform, yet peculiar to each corps, and quite as different from the ordinary civil costume as that of many

many of our Volunteers. The arbitrary manner in which the Prussians treated the case of the *Francs-tireurs* is the more shocking when viewed by the light of their own military law. That law enjoins upon the *Landsturm* the duty of local defence, of espionage, of every sort of hostile action against an invader, even down to the disturbance of the enemy's hospitals. And what is this *Landsturm*, to whom these actions are not merely permitted, but enjoined upon them by the law? It embraces every man up to sixty years of age, not belonging to the line or to the *Landwehr*; and hence it corresponds exactly to the French *Garde National Sédentaire*, *Francs-tireurs*, or whatever the names may be of any armed forces acting under the authority of Government, besides the line and the *Mobiles*. In one point, indeed, the parallel is incomplete: the Prussian law expressly states that a uniform is *not* necessary for the *Landsturm*!

Here, therefore, is the dilemma in which the Prussian Government is placed, not by their own example merely, but by its embodiment in their formal, solemn, authoritative law. They must either renounce the privilege of soldiers for the men of the *Landsturm*, and in case of an invasion—to which they may even yet be subjected again, for all their present triumph—they must submit, without remonstrance, to such measures against that force and the population at large as they have themselves dealt out in France; or else, if they should again play the part of invaders—as so many expect they will—they must acknowledge as soldiers every man who fights for his country under the sanction of his Government. Nor does the matter concern us less closely: for the Volunteers, who would form our last line of defence if the 'silver streak' were once crossed whether by Gaul or Teuton, the flower of our youth of every class, would be condemned by Prussian precedents to the treatment of *Francs-tireurs*, with all their aiders and abettors; for our Volunteers have no more authorization in England than the *Francs-tireurs* had in France.

The inconsistency on this point between the laws which Prussia enjoins at home and those she acts upon abroad is so gross and glaring, that her defenders in England have tried to keep the *Landsturm* Ordinance out of sight. But it is a far better course to expose the wrong, in order to obtain some safer and juster international arrangement for the future. Either such troops as the *Landsturm* and the *Francs-tireurs* should be prohibited everywhere, or the privilege of quarter should be extended to them all alike, and the vindictive measures taken against the population at large on account of their operations should be declared as illegal as our common feeling of right and humanity pronounces them to be indefensible. There is one mode by which the difficulty would be at once removed—a wholesale

wholesale distribution of uniforms to the male population. But the very fact that so simple and merely formal a remedy would remove the pretext for what are called the 'punishments of illegal warfare' is a sufficient proof that these punishments cannot justly be extended beyond the individuals actually offending. The extension of their scope has been aggravated by their excessive character. According to the Prussian views of the laws of war, both formally expressed by official proclamations and rigorously carried out in practice, every house or village, in which *Francs-tireurs* were found, was to be burned down, and every *commune* was made collectively responsible for any loss the German troops might sustain on its territory, except in a pitched battle! This order has caused wide devastation; but to what purpose? Even the tyrant plea of necessity has failed, and the argument from results is against these reckless severities. The despairing or exasperated sufferers were driven to swell the ranks of the *Francs-tireurs*; and the losses inflicted by these forces, in spite of the vain attempt to suppress them by such means, ought to convince the Germans, as well as all who seek to learn from their experience, that useless violence should be excluded from civilized warfare. The sounder and simpler rule, to punish those, and those only, who may be found carrying on warfare on their own responsibility, but to treat the civil population with humanity, would soon have brought this sort of resistance to an end.

But the Prussian mode of proceeding is more than useless—it is absurd. If a body of *Francs-tireurs* or *Landsturm* men lie in wait behind a fence or in a wood, and fire thence on the advancing enemy, is that fence to be destroyed or that wood cut down or burned? Why, then, destroy a house wherein they may have posted themselves exactly as any regular soldiers would do, the proprietor being perhaps absent, and at any rate utterly unable to prevent them from using his house? Why should such a man, his neighbours, and all their families, be made homeless and destitute, because other persons are supposed to have offended against the usages of war? Again, the Prussian proclamations call upon the *Maires* to inform the German commanders of the presence of *Francs-tireurs*. But how can the *Maires* be supposed to know the movements of these ubiquitous bands? But something worse remains than the absurdity of making the *Maires* and the whole population responsible for operations which they can neither know of nor prevent. It has been most formally and solemnly demanded of the civil population, as the condition of the poor security offered for their lives and property under Prussian occupation, that they should turn traitors to their own country! And lest, while performing the services claimed of them by this last act of cruel oppression,

an impulse of patriotism should tempt them to use the opportunities of this forced service against their oppressors, or even if they use opportunities which offer of themselves to hamper the proceedings of the enemy, a Draconic code is ready to inflict the extreme penalty. Our readers will have seen throughout that we have a far higher purpose than to frame an indictment against the Germans in general or the Prussians in particular; but if this were our object, we should scarcely seek, as to this branch of the subject, any other form of words than those officially proclaimed by General von Gœben on taking possession of the city of Rouen. Here is the edict, as issued to the vanquished and wretched people in their own language:—

‘ *Proclamation affichée dans la ville de Rouen à l’entrée des troupes prussiennes.*

‘ En vertu de l’article 10, partie II., du Code pénal militaire prussien, il sera établi pour le district du 8^e corps d’armée des conseils de guerre qui jugeront tous ceux qui auront sciemment porté préjudice aux troupes de la Confédération de l’Allemagne du Nord et des États alliés ou qui auront secondé avec pré-méditation l’armée française.

‘ Do plus, nous ordonnons ce qui suit :

‘ (1) *Sera puni de mort* tout particulier qui aura servi d’espion aux troupes françaises ou qui aura logé, caché ou secondé un espion français.

‘ (2) *Sera puni de mort* quiconque aura volontairement servi de guide aux troupes françaises.

‘ (3) *La même peine sera appliquée* à celui qui, servant de guide aux troupes de S. M. le roi de Prusse et de ses augustes alliés, aura été convaincu de mauvaise foi.

‘ (4) *Sera puni de mort* celui qui, par esprit de vengeance, ou par avidité, aura pillé, blessé ou tué un individu quelconque appartenant aux armées alliées contre la France.

‘ (5) *Sera puni de mort* quiconque aura détruit des routes, ponts, canaux, télégraphes ou chemins de fer. *La même peine sera appliquée* à ceux qui auront incendié des édifices, arsenaux, ou magasins militaires.

‘ (6) *Sera puni de mort* tout particulier qui aura porté les armes contre les troupes de S. M. le roi de Prusse et ses augustes alliés.

‘ (7) La présente proclamation entrera en vigueur dans toute l’étendue du district occupé par le 8^e corps d’armée dès qu’elle aura été affichée dans une localité quelconque de ce district.

‘ VON GÖBEN.

‘ Le général commandant le 8^e corps d’armée.

‘ Rouen, le 5 décembre 1870.’

We need not ask what feelings this ordinance would excite, especially in such a people as the French: but what purpose could it be designed to serve? To make demands which no one could be expected to comply with, and to enforce them with such threats,

threats, looks like seeking pretexts for pillage, devastation, and a general reign of terror. But the truth is that these proclamations, and the proceedings founded upon them, are a relic of an age of warfare which is now outgrown, and the usages of which ought to pass away with the system that created them. In barbarous nations and ages, as we have said, all men are fighting animals, neither giving nor expecting quarter except with the alternative of slavery. This is the first and savage state of war. In the second, the hired combatants are so clearly separated from the civil population, that the latter can be distinctly marked out to receive the privileges of non-combatants or to forfeit them by interference in the struggle. But the mighty movement begun by the French Revolution has made war a great national conflict rather than a struggle for political objects by means of regular armies; and throughout the Continent of Europe the citizens themselves are called upon, though in various degrees, to learn the business, and, when the need arises, to act the part of soldiers. Our insular position has thus far exempted us from the practical application of this great change; but threats sent across our Channel, reawakening the martial spirit of our race, have caused us to prepare for it by our Volunteer force. For the sake of those children and brethren of our families of every class—for the sake of the hearths and homes on which the performance of their duty would bring ruin, should our island become the theatre of war according to the Prussian system—we have the deepest interest in demanding that laws of war, if such they be, that might be fit for hired armies, shall no longer be applied to the changed conditions of the conflicts of nation against nation.

We have heard much about the 'citizen army' of Prussia, as if it were an institution which had peculiar claims on the sympathies of the world, whereas, in fact, the contrary is the case. The French army also consists of *citizens*, serving in obedience to the law of conscription, and returning after a time to private life. The only difference is, that the monster organization of Prussia embraces *all citizens*; and, whilst the French system embodies a part of the citizens into a kind of standing army, renewed by rotation, the Prussian system converts the *whole nation* into a standing army. The *Francs-tireurs* are as much 'citizen-soldiers' as any in the Prussian service, and each one of them acts with the sanction of his Government as much as any German soldier of the Line, or *Landwehr*, or *Landsturm*. But the truth is, that the Draconic measures adopted by the Prussians, in order to coerce the French nation by a reign of terror, did not arise out of the distinction, or want of distinction, between regular and irregular troops. The proof of this is the fact, that their inhuman code of reprisals was put into execution wherever Prussian detachments had

had been surprised and made prisoners, without inquiring whether this had been done by *Francs-tireurs* or *Mobiles*, or any other class of troops.

Take, for example, what was done at Nemours. A patrol of 47 Uhlans had quartered themselves in an inn, without sufficient precautions for their own safety. In the night 300 *Mobiles*—not, observe, *Francs-tireurs*—arrived and made them prisoners after a short resistance. A day or two after, 5000 Prussians surrounded the town, pointed artillery against it, and a force of 1200 cavalry and infantry marched in, commanding all persons to retire within their houses. The authorities were summoned to hear the sentence—*two hours' pillage and the burning of the quarter where the affair had taken place, as well as the houses of all the members of the committee of defence*. By urgent entreaties, the Prussians consented to burn *only* the quarter in which the inn stood: the floors were saturated with petroleum, and the houses fired with shells. The two railway stations and fifteen houses were burnt in presence of the authorities, who were forced to witness the execution, and under the personal superintendence of the officers, whose answer to all appeals for pity and mercy was, that they had *special orders*. After thoroughly pillaging the house of the Commandant of the National Guard, and another fine mansion, they left the town, carrying off the Maire and three of the chief citizens, whom they only sent back on payment of a ransom of 100,000 francs (4000*l.*). All this was done without any investigation, nor was it even alleged that the inhabitants had had any part in the surprise.

Such a case might seem incredible, however well attested, were it not the very repetition of similar 'military executions' in Denmark. The 'Dagbladet' mentions a case which caused a great sensation at the time, though it was by no means an isolated one. It occurred in 1864, at a village called Assendrup, near Horsens. A squadron of Uhlans were surprised at night by a division of Danish hussars: Denmark had no volunteers, *francs-tireurs*, or forces of the kind. In revenge for this purely military success, a considerable Prussian force speedily came and burnt down the farm-houses where the Uhlans had been quartered and surprised. The plea put forward by the Prussians in all such cases is that the inhabitants had given information to their own forces where to find the enemy's detachments; but in no case have they taken the trouble to establish this allegation. And, even were it proved, how is such conduct criminal according to their own law? If it be the duty of every Prussian, in case of an invasion, to give all the information he can to the defenders of his country, how should it not be the duty of the citizens of every other country to do the same? Or does this constant plea of the laws

of war mean that, if there are such laws, the soldiers of the Fatherland are above, or the people of France beneath them? Is it, after all, a mere question of national arrogance and animosity, which success has converted into reckless contempt?

At all events, the whole principle of such military executions is unsound, even were there any right to inflict them. It is by the use of proper watchfulness, by sentinels, and so forth, that detachments are bound to secure themselves in an enemy's country; not by scorning these precautions, and then wreaking vengeance for the consequences upon the unfortunate people on whom they have chosen to quarter themselves. That the plea of 'treachery' is nothing but a mere phrase, convenient as affording a pretext for that exercise of brutal force which delights the whole race of Blüchers, may be inferred from such a case as the destruction of Fontenoi. Shortly before the cessation of hostilities, the railway-bridge over the Meuse was blown up by a large detachment of French cavalry which arrived from a distance, and the German guard were carried off as prisoners. Such a brilliant feat called for vengeance; but on whom? The French cavalry were gone far out of reach, but Fontenoi was close by the broken bridge; and, for no reason but this, a detachment of troops was immediately sent from Nancy to destroy the village. Not the slightest evidence was obtained, or even sought for, that the inhabitants had taken any part in what was itself a fair act of war.

There are cases in which the so-called 'military executions' seem to have been dictated by sheer vindictiveness on account of unexpected resistance. For the fate of Nogent-le-Roi we are able to cite both the Prussian and the French accounts; and we leave our readers to form a judgment from comparing them. In the 'Cologne Gazette' of December 21st, 1870, we read:—

'The war is assuming a character more and more cruel and barbarous. The day before yesterday (the 19th), for example, we burnt Nogent, on the road from Chaumont to Langres. It is to be said that at Nogent our troops were fired upon from several private houses, and that a company, sent to chastise these acts by imposing a proportionate contribution, was likewise fired upon, and was even driven from the town. A frightful vengeance followed immediately.'

The words which we have marked in italics imply clearly that a part of the story remains untold; for a few treacherous shots from windows would not drive out a German detachment, especially when already warned by similar proceedings. The French account denies the shots from the windows altogether, and tells the story as follows:—

'On Tuesday, the 5th of December, a Prussian detachment from the head-quarters at Chaumont (Haut-Marne) paid a visit to the little town

town of *Nogent le Roi* (3800 souls) to give effect to large requisitions. Some *Mobiles*, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, came up at once to drive them out, and killed two of the Prussians. Next day (the 7th), they came back in force with artillery; but 400 *Mobiles*, who had come from *Langres*, barricaded themselves in the town, replied to the fire, and killed thirty men. The enemy then retired the second time to *Chaumont*; but on Monday morning (the 12th), having learnt that the *Mobiles* had evacuated *Nogent*, which was now left defenceless, they returned with artillery, to the number of from 7000 to 8000 men, and bombarded the town,—reprisals the more odious as the place was not responsible for the legitimate defence maintained by regular troops. Presently the Prussian commandor, finding petroleum more expeditious than bombs, which however had done not a little harm, ordered his soldiers to enter the dwellings, and to saturate with this liquid the houses and furniture, even to the mattresses. This unheard of order was executed at once, in spite of the protestations of the inhabitants, women and children, who affirmed with perfect truth that they had taken no part in the contest and had offered no resistance. Eighty-eight houses were reduced to ashes, as well as the large and fine cutlery-works of *M. Vitry*. All this time, shots were fired in the streets at the wretched inhabitants as they fled, and six of them were killed. The principal citizens were arrested, upon no charge, and carried off to *Chaumont*. The *Adjoint*, *M. Combès*, was dragged thither through the snow on his naked feet, his arms bound and his head bare, without being allowed to put on his clothes. The Prussians offered to exchange him against a superior officer. On the refusal of the commandant of *Langres*, they at last set him at liberty after ten days of the most rigorous confinement.—*Recueil, &c.*, pp. 13-14.

At *Châteaudun*, in like manner, where the Prussians on their first approach were repulsed by the National Guards and the *Francs-tireurs*, 130 houses out of 1000 were burnt to the ground, and 96 inhabitants were carried off as prisoners of war. Let our readers particularly observe that the defence of these towns was precisely the kind of service which would be expected from our Volunteers, in case of an invasion; and their fate would be that of *Dartford* or *Hounslow* under like circumstances with like enemies. If any principle is to be discovered in these novel proceedings, it can be no other than this all-comprehensive extension of the law of vengeance, that every member of a nation is responsible for every act done by every other member of the same nation against an invader; and that, as the one great object is to inflict as much damage as possible upon the hostile people, there is no need to be particular in choosing the individual sufferer. That this is really the German view seems strongly confirmed by two practices as to the law of *hostages*, which they certainly have the merit, or odium, of originating. We refer to their seizure of some chief inhabitants

of various places, at random, to serve as hostages for the captains of merchantmen taken by French cruisers; and to the remarkable invention of compelling municipal authorities, professional men, and aged fathers of families, to ride on railway engines, as sureties against the cutting of the lines used by the Germans. If we have been tempted to see a sort of grim humour in a proceeding which some have thought might be applied to railway directors nearer home (who, however, *are* responsible for *their* lines), let us first see the results which have actually followed:—

‘A member of the municipal council of Reims, being compelled, as a *notable*, to ride on the locomotive of a train going to Epernay, was killed in a collision between this train and another coming from Reims. The collision arose from the mismanagement of the engineer.’—*Recueil, &c.*, p. 10.

The all-enveloping Prussian net has swept in civilians who were neither offenders (or the vicarious substitutes for such) nor hostages. The ‘law of suspected persons,’ so hateful a feature of the French revolution, has found its place among their ‘usages of war.’ Witness the following case:—

‘At Vitry-le-Français, a rich proprietor of Paris, for the time at Brussels, had left in France two nephews. One of them, the *procureur* at Vitry-le-Français, was greatly astonished to see a Prussian officer come into his room, followed by four soldiers. It was morning: the officer ordered him to get up. “What do you want with me?” asked the magistrate. “To send you off to Germany, where you will be detained in the fortress of Mainz.”—“On what ground?” “That’s no part of my duty to tell you.”—“I demand then to speak to the commandant of the town.”—“Oh! as to that, dress yourself, and let us be moving.”—The Procureur, brought before the superior officer, renewed his question. “You do not like the Prussians enough,” said the man of war, “and, as your influence might be injurious to us on account of your social standing, we are going to send you out of the country.” The magistrate was sent off by the train, without being allowed time to arrange his affairs or to take any money. He is, in fact, in the fortress of Mayence, where his uncle has been obliged to send him a sum of 2000 francs. The other nephew, a councillor of the court of appeal at Nancy, has had the same fate, and is now a prisoner of war in the fortress of Rastadt. Thus the Prussians arrest as prisoners of war men who have never borne arms. This is nothing less than the procedure of the Inquisition applied by military power on account of patriotic opinions.’—*Recueil, &c.*, pp. 11, 12.

There is, finally, another point in which the usage of war, as practised by the Germans, seems to require a reform in the interest of humanity. We refer to the treatment of individuals who become involved in quarrels with the foreign soldiery, and by resistance or interference with them, render themselves liable to martial law. Numerous instances have occurred of such persons

persons being shot on the instant without any enquiry at all. We refrain from quoting several examples from the works before us, in order not to embitter the calm discussion of principles. None will surely deny that to leave the execution of martial law in the hands of individual soldiers, and those the very ones whose conduct is at least alleged to have given rise to the quarrel, is a proceeding unworthy of civilized warfare. No loss could possibly be suffered by enacting that no civilian should be shot under martial law except by a court-martial; and that in no case should he lose his life if the soldiers should be proved to have given provocation of such a kind that a complaint preferred after the deed would be useless. In by far the greater number of cases where a civilian is troublesome, it is enough for all practical purposes to shut him up, or to carry him off to a distance, and let him find his own way home. In fine, any damage that civilians can do, where proper precaution is used by officers, is so insignificantly small, that it is at least not worth while to incur, by extreme severity, the odium and indignation with which Europe has resounded.

The true law both of justice and policy is stated with admirable force and clearness by Colonel Hamley:—

‘ Let the invader treat the population of the hostile State, and use its resources, as he would an ally’s or his own. Superior efficiency and superior skill would still retain their advantages; and let him not supplement deficiencies in force or vigilance by a system of terrorism, but restrict his enterprises to the space which he can protect, or extend them at his own peril, not at that of the population. Commanders have already abandoned some of their privileges in deference to the progress of civilization—they no longer make slaves of their captives, nor encourage indiscriminate plunder, nor massacre the inhabitants of cities taken by storm; let still further concessions be required of them. To say this is to argue in the interests of all the world against the victorious invader—nay, I will not even except the victorious invader himself. It is better that new restrictions should be placed on conquerors than that laws should be perverted, humanity outraged, and prosperous provinces converted into frightful deserts. To the plea that the custom of war authorises these acts, the reply is that the custom is not of our time; it is derived from periods which are the stigma of nations and the blots of history; from times of general rapine and violence; from the French Revolution, the Middle Ages, and epochs yet nearer to barbarism. That we should repudiate and denounce it is the more necessary because this method of making war can never be of even temporary advantage to ourselves. It is impossible to suppose that England, engaged in a foreign war, would tolerate the infliction by her troops of the rigours which France undergoes. Still more impossible would it be to admit that we should be suffering no more than the just penalties for opposing invasion, in the slaughter of our citizens goaded into resistance by intolerable injuries,

injuries, and in the conversion of whole counties into wastes, of aspect far more horrible than they bore in times when their inhabitants painted themselves blue and worshipped the sanguinary gods of (what we fancied to be) an extinct theology.'

We cite one last authority, to which some readers will attach peculiar weight, drawing the like conclusion from the highest principles:—

'Here, then, is the prohibition to all mortal feuds; mercy to a submissive foe is to be no longer an exceptional and admirable reach of human goodness, but a plain duty. Human beings have henceforth, in all cases, a right to terms, a right to quarter.'

Our case is stated, unless readers conversant with the facts should complain that it is understated. But we repeat, for the last time, that we are discussing principles, with a view to a remedy, not framing an indictment against Germany. We abstain, therefore, from dwelling upon acts of mere individual disorder, however harrowing many of the details, or upon acts which have been perpetrated by the German armies, but which their superior authorities do not defend in principle. Not even catastrophes like the conflagration of Bazeilles, horrible though they be, are the theme of our remonstrance, because the German authorities seem to have given up the plea of military execution. The fate of that unhappy village is now set down to the same cause which has produced similar though less terrible events at other places and in other wars, namely, the lawless excesses of the soldiers, who had become intoxicated. But the question of principle only arises when such things are done, not from laxity of discipline, the cases of which we gladly acknowledge to have been rare, but also under the superintendence of officers, in obedience to specific orders. And it is the latter class of outrages that constitute the most peculiar feature of the late war. We do not envy the Germans the spoils, nor is ours the voice that shall swell the chorus of the curses, under the weight of which they are taking their way homeward out of France. Our sole object has been to bring out the points in which their mode of warfare seems to differ from that dictated by the first principles of humanity and civilization, not for exposure on the pillory of international opinion, but for discussion in the clear light of reason upon what is right and wrong in men towards their fellow men, and in the serene but all pervading atmosphere of Christian charity and brotherhood.

Happily, this spirit has shone forth, even in the late terrible war, and borne fruit never before seen in the blood-stained annals of the world. The belligerents themselves have not only been faithful to the restraints imposed by the Geneva Convention on slaughter

slaughter and mutilation, and on interference with the succour of the wounded ; but they have employed all the resources of science to keep pace, as far as such gigantic operations rendered possible, with all the exigencies of suffering, with the decencies due to the dead, and even with the sanitary measures needful to prevent the fields of battle becoming hotbeds of pestilence. If the political impartiality of neutrals has been resented as apathy, their humane sympathy and unstinted help to the wounded and famishing has been freely acknowledged, and has doubtless sown the seeds of a future goodwill which will help to cement the brotherhood of nations. The white cross of charity has shed over the bloodiest fields a far purer light than ever shone from the red cross of misguided zeal. Such are the blessings which we owe partly to the Geneva Convention, partly to the free uncovenanted spirit of human kindness. Why, then, should not a similar and more comprehensive agreement, guided by the same spirit, be established by all civilized nations, to clear up all that is doubtful, to humanize all that is cruel, to restrain all that is rapacious, in the usages of war ; and, instead of throwing into the seething caldron of iniquity every safeguard for life and property, for capital and industry, for domestic peace, and even for the good conscience and character of the combatants themselves, to cast the ægis of public law over the innocent and helpless, and purify the appeal to the God of battles as far as possible from human passion ?

The immediate and practical objects most needful and desirable to be settled by a new convention seem to be the following :—

1st. To decide whether forces like the Prussian *Landsturm*, the *Francs-tireurs*, the *Garde Nationale Sédentaire*, and our Volunteers, are to be recognized or not ; and to enact uniformity in this respect ; so that a State may not lay down one law at home and practise another abroad.

2nd. To decide whether volunteers, not being natives of the country in whose armies they fight, are to be treated on the same footing as natives, when made prisoners of war. This question was raised in the Danish war, when the Germans refused to treat Norwegian and Swedish volunteers in the same manner as Danes.

3rd. To regulate the principles on which an invading army may obtain supplies from the inhabitants, and to abolish all needless and arbitrary requisitions.

4th. To determine whether the civil population may be made to perform military work, such as digging trenches, and so forth, for the invading force, as the Prussians have compelled them to work, both in Denmark and in France.

5th. To abolish, totally and unconditionally, the system of hostages, as useless and barbarous.

6th. To forbid the system of vicarious retaliation, as exercised by the Prussians, and particularly the practice of official incendiarism.

7th. To put an end to the system of executing prisoners or civilians, otherwise than for armed resistance, and after investigation by court-martial.

8th. To exempt towns from bombardment where they are not used as part of a defensive position, and where the bombardment does not serve to give the attacking party immediate possession by dislodging the defenders.

We are convinced that none of these proposals, if adopted, would render war less effective for its legitimate purposes ; and that their adoption, besides the immediate diminution of suffering and loss and demoralization, would tend to cherish that better spirit which, we have the highest authority for believing, will one day make an end of war.

It has, indeed, been objected, that the effort required to obtain such an international agreement would suffice to obtain the consent of nations to substitute arbitration for war ; and that, as the latter is at present hopeless, the former is impracticable. But it is only by the process of partial amelioration that a deeply rooted evil can be eradicated, and a complete and lasting reform effected. In this, as in so many other things, we are misled by truisms too plausible to be sound, by words too simply expressive to convey a full truth. It is easy to say that none but a radical remedy will avail against a radical evil ; that, while civilized nations continue to make their last appeal to brute violence, which is lawless and inhuman in itself, to impose upon it humanizing laws is only breaking off a branch here and there from the upas-tree of war, which throws its deadly shade over all the world. Nay, it is even reiterated, with that affected philosophy and real love of startling paradox which marks an age of re-action against received doctrines, that the surest remedy for the love of fighting will be found in the very extremity of suffering, horror, and disgust, inspired by evil usages, just as the course of war is shortened by more deadly weapons and lavish expenditure ; and we are expected to learn from recent experience that

‘ War is a monster of such hideous mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen.’

But even things hateful and horrible have a fascination, which seems only to be stimulated by the magnitude and intensity of its cause. For six months, from the first ‘ baptism of fire’ to the

the cessation of the iron rain that fell in answer upon the famishing city of Paris, every sympathetic fibre of our hearts has been kept upon the rack ; but must we not also confess to a sense of gratified curiosity and excitement on a scale never felt before ? The harrowing details brought daily under our eyes by modern channels of intelligence, as if we witnessed them ourselves, have for the time taught every one who can read a penny paper something of what war really is, and called forth the hope that this is the monster's last revel : but those very details have been sought with such avidity, that a morning journal without a pitched battle, a bombardment, or a bloody *sor tie*, was almost a disappointment. The combative elements of our nature have been inflamed with some infection of that red haze which is said to float before the eyes of the young soldier on his first battle-field, inspiring him with a fury to shed blood. We do not doubt that, in thoughtful minds, the love of peace has been confirmed, and new vows have been registered to oppose all needless war ; but where is the proof that such feelings have so laid hold upon the general mind even of peaceful England, as to give a practical security against the passions which may break out in future war ? It was not at the beginning of the strife, when all these horrors were still veiled, but near its end, when we had supped full of them, that a cry was raised for our own entrance upon the bloody game.

How little a far more intimate acquaintance with the evils of war has influenced the combatants themselves, whose tenacity of resistance on the one side, and stern perseverance on the other, were only intensified by all the experience of that bloody August which ended with Sedan—bear witness Paris—bear witness Berlin. The capacity of human passion seems unbounded for suffering as well as for glory. We need not dwell upon that spectacle of renewed war, this time of citizen against citizen, which we can only view with ‘our hearts failing us for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth.’ This reawakening of warlike frenzy may be temporary ; but does either nation appear to shrink from the future conflict of revenge, which the one side loudly proclaims, and for which the other promises to be ready, or even cynically provokes it ? The strain of domestic suffering upon the citizen army of Germany has no more wrought a cure than has the exhausting misery of France ; and the promise of Prince Bismarck to the Frankfort burgess—‘there will not be another war in our time’—is only the boast of the resolved conqueror, holding his enemy in a grasp which he feels strong enough to

maintain : though the irony of fate has often a Nemesis for such resolves.

The truth is that human nature, especially in these later ages of the world, seems to have a limitless ambition for at least striving to overcome every new force of moral as well as physical resistance to its desires. In material progress; the quickened pulse of civilization is answered by the acceleration of our own ; the work of weeks is crowded into days, and every abridgment of labour cuts out new tasks. In our moral and speculative lives; every triumph over old bonds and prejudices makes the claim for liberty more grasping, and the temptation to dare and do grows stronger with its gratification—

‘*Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.*’

So is it with war. We of the present generation have been told, from our childhood, that improvement in weapons of destruction would make an end of war. They may have shortened it, but in an unforeseen way : namely, by making the victory, already virtually won by superior numbers or preparation or strategy, more rapidly decisive. This seems to be the lesson alike of the Italian, Danish, Austrian, and French wars ; not, most assuredly, that wholesale slaughter has made fighting too destructive to be ventured on. Every new invention has but called forth new energy to use or counteract it ; the defence has kept pace with the attack in the endurance of flesh and blood, mind and nerve, as well as fire and iron ; and men have no more feared to stand up against the needle-gun and chassepot, the Armstrong and the Krupp, than the rebel angels of Milton feared to face the ‘dread artillery of heaven.’ ‘To suffer as to do, our strength is equal ;’ and human nature shews as yet no sign of being frightened out of war. But human nature is apt to yield to gentleness, where it only hardens itself to resist force.

On this principle we look to the mitigation of the stern military law, not only as good in itself, not only as a right claimed by humanity, not only as sound policy in warriors, but as the most hopeful means of putting an end to war. Those who will only hear of radical reforms are misled, as we have hinted, by the fallacies which hang about words and figures of speech. To answer in their own language, let them see how a gardener practises eradication. The weed that springs up in an hour, with no depth of root, is easily plucked up, or turned over with spud or hoe ; but the deep-rooted parasite or tenacious bindweed, which has spread its fibres through all the soil, must be

be scotched and killed by cutting off, with unceasing diligence, every leaf from which its life is fed. The upas-tree, whose root we cannot even reach, so deeply is it struck in the hardened soil, may be destroyed by lopping off its boughs and plucking away each new shoot, till

‘Shorn of its strength, the giant growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath’—

and the trunk dies a sure, though lingering death.

So may it be with war ; and that it may be so we invoke, at this crisis, before indifference again steals over us, the co-operation of all humane, of all Christian men. ‘Whatsoever ye will that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for THIS IS THE LAW.’ We shrink not from ending thus, since we are writing of and for CHRISTIAN NATIONS.

ART. VIII.—1. *Das Geburtsjahr Christi ; geschichtlich-chronologische Untersuchungen* von A. W. Zumpt. Leipzig, 1809.

2. *Fusti Sacri, or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament.*

By Thomas Lewin, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1865.

ALL Biblical students have long since been aware that the Common Era, computing events from the Nativity of Christ, and fixed in the 753rd year from the foundation of Rome, is altogether untrustworthy. It was first devised by Dionysius, an abbot of the sixth century, and first brought into general use under the Carlovingian Kings. But, however well it might pass muster in an uncritical age, a very slight examination sufficed to show that it was wholly at variance with the first chapters of St. Matthew’s Gospel. This a very few words will make plain. We may deduce from Josephus that Herod the Great died in the spring of the year 4 before Christ according to the Dionysian Era.* Taking then into account the Flight into Egypt, and the Massacre of the Innocents as recorded by St. Matthew, it is impossible to place the Nativity of Christ later than five years before the period that is commonly assigned.

Thus far there is no difficulty. Nor is there any other connected with chronology in the whole first Gospel. But on passing to the third, we find ourselves greatly perplexed. St. Luke tells us at his outset that his narrative begins ‘in the days of Herod, the King of Judæa.’ When, however, he

* ‘Ant. Jud.’ lib. xvii. c. 8. See the Essay by M. Freret in the ‘Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions,’ vol. xxi. p. 278.

comes to the taxing of the Roman empire, or at least of the province of Judaea, which brought Joseph and Mary to be taxed at Bethlehem, he makes mention of Cyrenius, more properly according to the Roman form Quirinius, or, if we desire to be most accurate of all, Quirinus. The words of St. Luke in this passage are rendered as follows in our Authorized Version: 'And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria.'

It is at this point that our perplexities begin. We learn from St. Matthew that, upon the death of Herod, his son Archelaus was appointed to reign in Judaea in his room.* We learn from Josephus that, after ruling for not quite ten years, Archelaus was deposed and banished by the Emperor Augustus.† Then, and then only, that is in the year 6 of the Common Era, Judaea was reduced to a Roman province, and Publius Quirinus, who was sent over as Governor of Syria, proceeded to take in hand the business of the Census. Or, as Josephus states it, 'Moreover, Quirinus came himself into Judaea, which was now added to Syria, to take an account of their substance and dispose of Archelaus's money.'‡

It would seem, then, at first sight, as though St. Luke had placed the birth of our Lord some ten or twelve years later than the date which other and equal authorities compel us to assign.

But supposing this difficulty solved—and we will presently show how many attempts have been made to solve it—there is still a subsequent text which is far from being clear. St. Luke goes on to give a precise date—the only precise date, we may observe in passing, that is given by any one of the four Evangelists. He adduces 'the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being Governor of Judaea.' Now, Augustus, having died in his own month of August, A.D. 14 of the Common Era, the fifteenth year of Tiberius may be taken to point to A.D. 29. In that year, continues St. Luke, 'the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness.' A period somewhat later, by a few months at least, must be ascribed to our Lord's own baptism and the commencement of his ministry. At that time, says St. Luke, 'Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.' So it stands in our Authorized Version, but, perhaps, more accurately, as follows, in the note to Tischendorf's edition: 'And Jesus himself, when he began, was about thirty years of age.' Now, then, taking his Nativity, for the reasons already given, not later than the year

* Matt., c. ii, verse 22.

† 'Ant. Jud.,' lib. xvii. c. 15; and 'Bell. Jud.,' lib. ii. c. 7.

‡ 'Ant. Jud.,' lib. xviii. c. 1. We give the words from Whiston's version.

5 before the Common Era, it would follow that at the commencement of his ministry he must have been, not as St. Luke states, 'about thirty'—ώσει ἑτῶν τριάκοντα—but at least thirty-four or thirty-five years of age.

These difficulties—and above all those connected with the 'taxing' of Quirinus—have exercised in no small degree the ingenuity of commentators. Most various have been their expedients. Some have declared the whole parenthesis about Quirinus to be an early gloss and interpolation of the text. Others, observing that Sennius Saturninus had been Governor of Syria some time before the death of Herod, desired, although with no authority from manuscripts, to substitute his name for that of Cyrenius in St. Luke. This, it appears, no less an authority than Tertullian was willing to do.* Other changes in the text were proposed by others. Some, without tampering with the words, attempted to construe πρώτη in the sense of προτέρα; the meaning of St. Luke being, as they alleged, to explain that the Census which caused the journey to Bethlehem differed from and was earlier than, the Census of Quirinus. There seems, however, no adequate motive for such a reflection on the part of the Evangelist, and that construction would be moreover a force upon the Greek.

Leaving the words as they stand, there has also been more recently an ingenious but fanciful theory. There was only one Census, it is said, but that interrupted in its progress. As commanded by Augustus, and as commenced, we may suppose, in the year 5 before Christ according to the Common Era, it may have proceeded so far that Joseph and Mary, and many more, went down to their own city to be taxed. But Augustus in his indulgence, having perhaps relented, the new taxation may have been laid aside and not resumed till twelve years afterwards, when Judaea was reduced to a province and Quirinus sent out as Governor. By this theory the first chronological difficulty might perhaps be explained away; but then this theory rests only on conjecture without one shred of evidence or corroborative testimony.

On the whole, then, this parenthesis of St. Luke about Cyrenius has remained obscure. Strauss, in his 'Life of Jesus,' points to it with exultation as to one of those points in which he desires to convict the Gospels of contradiction or inaccuracy. On the other side the ablest commentators have been willing to allow that the passage is difficult, and has not yet received that full elucidation of which it would doubtless admit.

* 'Advers. Marcion.' lib. iv. c. 19.

It is therefore with especial pleasure that we welcome this publication of Dr. Zumpt. We gather from the Dedication that the author was a favourite pupil of Dr. Twesten, the eminent Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin; and we are informed that, as a classic scholar and exponent of Roman History, he enjoys a very high reputation in Germany. This gentleman has devoted a whole volume to the point at issue, and propounded a careful and consistent theory upon it.

That theory, indeed, is not altogether new. It was first propounded by Dr. Zumpt, in a Latin Essay which appeared at Berlin in 1854: 'Commentatio de Syriâ Romanorum provinciâ ab Carsare Augusto ad T. Vespasianum.' Since that time it has been most favourably noticed in this country. Mr. Lewin has adopted it in his able and comprehensive, though not always convincing, work on the New Testament Chronology which we have named second in the heading of this article.* Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury, whose untimely death, even while these pages are passing through the press, we observe with deep concern, has on two occasions given to the theory of Dr. Zumpt the sanction of his high authority; first, in 1860, in the article 'Cyrenius,' which he contributed to Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' and again, in 1863, in the corresponding passage of his own excellent Commentary on the Greek Testament.

On neither occasion, however, has the Dean gone into the case at all fully. 'Zumpt,' he says, in his Commentary, 'by arguments too long to be reproduced here, but very striking and satisfactory—.'

But this Latin Dissertation of Dr. Zumpt—only known, as we imagine, to the highest class of Biblical scholars—has been recently succeeded by a book from the same hand in a living language. Here the theory in question is both more fully stated and more forcibly defended. As it stands before us in its full proportions, we cannot but acknowledge its force and power. Proceeding, as it does, by the way, not of vague conjecture, but of sound historical deduction, it seems to us to explain the entire difficulty, and to establish the accuracy of the Gospel narrative on this point beyond the reach of future cavil.

It is not, however, the date of the Nativity that is alone concerned. Dr. Zumpt, in this volume, points out that, on his first theory, combined with another which he urges, the exact date of the Passion also may be probably deduced. Under these circumstances, it has seemed to us that a fuller exposition of the case than has hitherto been afforded in this country, might perhaps be welcome to many English readers.

* 'Fasti Sacri,' p. 132, ed. 1805.

In this attempt we do not propose, however, to follow through every wandering the footsteps of Dr. Zumpt. So great—so very great—are his stores of learning and his powers of research, that they have sometimes led him into collateral narratives or illustrations not at all essential to his argument. We, neither possessing his vast erudition nor inclined to make so unmerciful a use of it, shall confine ourselves to the main proofs by which his positions are defended. We hope, therefore, while giving an account of his 'discovery,' as Dean Alford has justly termed it, to be able to present it to the public in a plainer and more popular form.

At the very outset the word 'first' (or *πρώτη*) in the text is perhaps sufficient to afford a clue, or at least to suggest an inquiry. Might not Quirinus have held the office of Governor of Syria, not once only, but on two occasions—first, in the year 4 before the Christian Era, when Judaea, after some previous preparations and announcements, was taxed according to the Jewish manner, each man repairing to his own city for that purpose; and secondly, in the year 6 after the Christian Era, when Judaea, reduced to a Roman province, was taxed according to the Roman fashion, and when Quirinus was sent out for the second time to the same post? Were such the case, the words of St. Luke, in strict grammatical construction, would mean only that the Census preceding the birth of Christ was the first Census taken under Quirinus, as distinguished from the second.

Such, then, briefly stated, is the theory that Dr. Zumpt and Mr. Lewin desire to maintain. But was the fact really so? Did indeed Quirinus fill his Syrian office at an earlier date? Now, for the events of this epoch in the East we have, in general, two separate and trustworthy authorities, the one Roman, and the other Jewish, Dion Cassius and Josephus. It so happens, however, by a singular coincidence, that both of these fail us at this particular point, exactly for the same period of time. There is an interval in the history of Dion Cassius, arising from a break in the manuscript, from the year 6 before Christ till the year 4 after, according to the Common Era. Josephus relates very fully the reign of Herod the Great, and also the first events in the reign of his successor, but breaks off abruptly at the marriage of Archelaus to his brother's widow, and does not resume his narrative until the accusation brought against this prince in the tenth year of his reign, when he was summoned to Rome by Augustus, and deposed. For the fact, then, which we are seeking we have no direct historical testimony, either in proof or disproof. We can only proceed by historical inference, which, as all students of history know, is sometimes quite as convincing as the former.

The

The Governor or 'Legatus' of Syria was at this time one of the most important officers of the Roman Empire—representing the person of the Emperor, not merely in the province, but in any adjacent and dependent kingdom. To fill this post, a previous Consulship was a necessary qualification; and such, we may observe in passing, was possessed by Quirinus, even at the earlier period, since he had been Consul in the year 12 before Christ.

We find that Caius Sentius Saturninus, a man also of Consular rank, administered Syria from the year 9 to the year 6 before Christ. In the latter year, he was succeeded by Publius Quintilius Varus, another *Consularis*, so well known subsequently from his terrible disaster in the German forests. Owing to the break in the established histories, as already explained, we lose sight of Varus in his Eastern course after the summer of the year 4. Our next direct evidence as to this succession of chiefs is derived from a coin which was struck at Antioch eight years later, that is, in the autumn of the year 4 after Christ, and which names Lucius Volusius Saturninus as the Roman Governor of Syria.

It does not seem probable that Varus continued in Syria much beyond the autumn of B.C. 4, when all trace of him ceases. It was a maxim laid down under Augustus, for the better administration of the Roman Empire, that no Governor having command of an army in a province should, so far as was possible to apply one uniform rule, be left at his post for less than three years or for more than five;* by the former limitation obtaining the benefit of some experience, and by the latter guarding against ambitious hopes and schemes of independent authority. In practice, however, it will be found from the instances adduced during this reign, that the period of three years was much more frequent than the term of five, although occasionally, and after an interval, the term of office was renewed. It is thought by Dr. Zumpt and Mr. Lewin that Varus was called away from Syria soon after the term when he is last named in connection with that province, and that he was immediately succeeded by Quirinus.

We come now to the proofs. Quirinus survived till the year 21 of the Christian Era, and Tacitus, while recording his death, has rapidly sketched his career.

'Quirinus,' he says, 'was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town; and he was in no wise related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii; but being a brave soldier, was for his vigorous military services rewarded with the consulship by the Divine Augustus; and soon after

* Dion Cassius, lib. lli. c. 23.

with.

with triumphal honours for having stormed the strongholds of the Homonadenses in Cilicia. Next, when Caius Caesar was sent to bear sway in Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his guardian, and at the same time paid court to Tiberius, then in exile at Rhodes.*

Tacitus goes on to state, in a passage which does not so immediately concern us, that Tiberius, on account of former friendship, pleaded warmly for the honour of a public funeral to Quirinus, which the Senate accordingly decreed as the Emperor desired. To others, adds the historian, the memory of Quirinus was far from grateful, on account of the dangers to which, as elsewhere explained by Tacitus, his wife Lepida had through his means been exposed, and also on account of his own avaricious and overbearing old age.

It is to be observed that Tacitus, in the passages which we have quoted, does not give, or profess to give, all the main incidents of this statesman's career. He says nothing, for example, of the government of Syria, which Quirinus held in the year 6 after Christ, or of the memorable Census, as recorded by Josephus, which he then enforced on his province. It is very natural that the first government in the year 4 before Christ should, in express mention, be omitted also. But still the few facts which the Roman historian does allege are of the highest value for the question now before us.

We have first to consider the Caius Caesar to whom Tacitus is here referring. This was the grandson and presumptive heir of Augustus. In the first year of the Christian Era he was despatched by the Emperor to Syria, proceeding from thence to Armenia to wage war against the Parthians. To this young prince, then, as Tacitus tells us, Quirinus was appointed guide or guardian (*rector*). It appears, however, that for some reason not explained, Quirinus did not long hold that office. We find Suetonius name another man of Consular rank, by name Marcus Lollius, as acting in the same capacity to Caius (*comes et rector*) as the war proceeded.† It proved disastrous both to chief and adviser. Caius received a wound before the town of Artagera of which he never recovered, and he expired in the year 4 of our Era. Lollius was suspected of treacherous communication with the enemy, and died, it is said, of poison administered by his own hand.

Lollius, as we learn from another historian, was succeeded by

* 'Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiorum familiam Quirinus pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lauvium, sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub Divo Augusto, mox expugnatia per Ciliciam Homonadensem castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque Rhodi agentem colerat.' (Tacit. 'Annal.' lib. iii. c. 48.)

† Suetonius 'Tib.' c. 12.

Censorinus,

Censorinus,*—Caius Marcius Censorinus, that is, who had also filled the Consulship in former years. The question then arises, whom Augustus, on sending his grandson into Syria, was likely to select as his guide and guardian. Dr. Zumpt maintains that it must have been some man already conversant with Eastern affairs, and that in all probability it was the Governor of this very province and the chief of the army stationed there. He holds, then, that Quirinus was at this time Governor of Syria, as were also, in succession to him, first Lollius and then Censorinus.

Dr. Zumpt has certainly one strong instance to allege, so far as analogy can guide us. In the year 17 after Christ, Tiberius, then Emperor, sent on a mission to the East his adopted son Germanicus, who, as regards the heirship of the Empire, stood in much the same relation to him as Caius Caesar had done to Augustus. There was this difference, however, that while Caius was young and untried, Germanicus had experience in war. He required, therefore, not a guardian (*rector*), but only a helper (*adjutor*). Tiberius, desiring to appoint as such a man on whom he could thoroughly rely, recalled Creticus Silanus from the government of Syria, and set in his place Cnaeus Piso, who was directed at the same time to attend upon and assist the Prince.†

This argument does no more, we admit, than make the earlier government of Quirinus probable. But by another train of reasoning it becomes very nearly certain. Tacitus tells us that Quirinus obtained the emblems of a triumph from his expedition against the Homonadenses in Cilicia. Some readers may feel surprise that we should here be eagerly discussing the affairs of an obscure tribe with an interminable name. Yet it is perhaps with this obscure tribe that lies the clue to the whole system of Gospel chronology. And first, When did this expedition occur? It is placed by Tacitus after the Consulship of Quirinus, and before his attendance on the grandson of Augustus. It must therefore have been some time previous to the year 1 of the Christian Era. Next, In what capacity did Quirinus obtain his triumph? It can only have been as Governor of the province to which this savage tribe was considered to belong. In the system of the provinces under the dominion of Rome, there was never any severance of civil government from military leadership. The same chief who conducted a war had at the same time the supreme administration of the province which was the scene, or had been the starting-point, of that war. It was not till the third century of our Era that a change was made in this respect. So fixed was this rule, says Dr. Zumpt, that not even one single exception can be found to it up to the period which he names.

* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 102.

† Tacit. 'Annal.', lib. ii. c. 43.
With

With this result to spur us, we may be willing, in company with Dr. Zumpt, to explore the scanty records of this robber tribe—for such the Homonadenses were. The sovereignty over them had been claimed by Amyntas, King of Galatia, who was slain by treachery in the year 25 before Christ, while attempting to subdue them.* At his death, Galatia became a Roman province, its first Praetor being that same Marcus Lollius who subsequently became the *comes et rector* of Caius Caesar. The mountainous district of Cilicia—the rugged Cilicia, *Cilicia Aspera*, as the Romans termed it—had also formed part of the dominion of Amyntas, and it fell, at his decease, to Archelaus, King of Cappadocia. It is probable that the little robber-land shared at this time the fate of Rugged Cilicia, and was afterwards with it embodied in the Empire. Certain it is that the predatory habits of this people roused at no distant date the resentment of Rome, and gave rise to the victorious expedition of Quirinus.

We have further to observe of the Homonadenses that they dwelt so near the confines of Cilicia as sometimes to be called its inhabitants, and sometimes only its neighbours.† It is quite clear, however, from the express words of Tacitus, *per Ciliciam*, that, in the time the conquest of Quirinus was achieved, the Homonadenses were taken as within the Cilician borders. *Per Ciliciam*, we admit, is not exactly the same phrase as *in Ciliciâ*: it implies that these robber-festnesses were scattered up and down the province, but it implies also as conclusively that they were not beyond or outside it. Now, as to Cilicia, there seems to be no doubt that all through that age, after it came under the dominion of the Empire, it was held to be a portion or dependency of the Syrian province. Of this there are several proofs, which we may state as follows:—

In the year 16 after Christ, Vonones, expelled from his kingdom of Parthia, sought refuge with Creticus Silanus, Praefect or Governor of Syria. This Governor confined him in Pompeiopolis, *Cilicie maritime urbem*, as in a city subject to his Syrian jurisdiction.

In the year 19 after Christ, Cnarus Piso,‡ seeking to recover his province of Syria, sent to the petty chiefs (the *reguli*) of Cilicia, as though dependent on that province, to levy men for him.§

* Strabo, 'Geogr.' lib. xii. c. 6.

† 'Est contermina illi gens Ilomonadum quoram intus oppidum Homona.' (Plin. 'Hist. Nat.', lib. v. c. 23, not 94 as we find it in Zumpt.) On the other hand, an expression of Strabo indicates that he reckoned them as Cilicians. ('Geograph.' lib. xii. c. 6.)

‡ Tacit. 'Annal.' lib. ii. c. 4 and 58.

§ Ibid., lib. ii. c. 78.

The

The Clitræ, as we learn from Tacitus, were among the tribes of Cilicia.* We find that, in the year 36 after Christ, Vitellius, as Governor of Syria, sent his Legate, with four thousand legionaries, to reduce that tribe.†

Again, in the year 52 after Christ, we find another Prefect of Syria, Curtius Severus, march with his cavalry against the Clitræ.‡

Thus also, in the year 72 after Christ, Antiochus, King of Commagene, being at Tarsus, a principal city of Cilicia, Ctesennius Partus, then Governor of Syria, despatched a centurion to that city to arrest him and send him in bonds to Rome, thus treating Tarsus as a part of his own territory.§

It follows, then, that when Quirinus commenced his expedition against these mountaineers, he did not outstep the bounds of his appointed jurisdiction, and was dealing with a dependency of the Syrian province.

The same conclusion as to his government at that time of this particular province is also arrived at by Dr. Zumpt through a different process—the process of exhaustion. He inquires what province, if not Syria, Quirinus could have held in this campaign. Bithynia, Galatia, and Pontus are eliminated by him, as not being Consular provinces, or, in other words, not territories which had invariably for their Governor some chief, as was Quirinus, of Consular rank. There remain in the East only the province of Asia Proper and the province of Syria. But in Asia Proper, there were no troops; || while in Syria four legions were stationed. From the latter province alone could have proceeded such warfare as would entitle the successful chief to triumphal honours.

It will be observed that these separate trains of argument all tend to one result. They render all but certain a former government of Quirinus in Syria—that government commencing probably in the latter months of the year 4 before Christ, and continuing till the year 1 after Christ. Five years would then elapse before his reappointment, and during these five years it might very well be that he held the other Consular province in the East, the province of Asia Proper, as seems to be stated in the ancient inscription to which we shall presently refer.

The list of the Governors of Syria at this period, with the dates at which they entered upon office, is accordingly established by Dr. Zumpt as follows:—

* ‘Agrestium Cilieum nationes quibus Clitarum cognomentum.’ (Tacit. ‘Annal.’ lib. xii. c. 55.)

† ‘Tacit. Annal.’ lib. vi. c. 41.

§ Josephus. ‘Bell. Jud.’ lib. vii. c. 7.

‡ Ibid., lib. xii. c. 55.

|| Tacit. ‘Annal.’ lib. iv. c. 5.

C. Sentius

C. Sontius Saturninus from the year ..	9 before Christ.
P. Quintilius Varus	6 "
P. Sulpicius Quirinus	4 "
M. Lollius	1 after Christ.
C. Marcius Censorinus	4 "
P. Sulpicius Quirinus	6 "
Q. Creticus Silanus	11 "

It is true that this succession which Dr. Zumpt establishes does not at first sight solve the entire difficulty caused by the words of St. Luke. For, as we cannot place the Nativity of Christ later than the year 5 before the Common Era, so we can as little place the first governorship of Quirinus earlier than the year 4. But this remaining difficulty is apparent only. It is easy to conceive that a general Census, more especially according to the Jewish method of division into tribes, must have taken a considerable time for its completion. It is easy to conceive how Joseph and Mary might go 'to be taxed' at Bethlehem in the year 5, under the government of Syria by Saturninus or Quintilius Varus, and yet not be called upon to pay, nor find the taxing finally ordered, till two or three years later, under the government of Quirinus. In this manner all ground for cavil disappears.

There might yet be another source of information on this subject. No scholar but is well aware of the great value for historical researches of the ancient inscriptions. Collected they were, in great part, even two centuries ago, but it is only of late years that they have been completed and classified and provided with classical notes by the skill of such men as Orelli. On this path, however, it behoves us to tread warily, for the ground is strewed with pitfalls. Forgeries, of modern date, though in Ciceronian Latin, are very frequent. Thus, many years since, we had occasion, in the pages of this Review, to show that the famous epitaph on Julia Alpinula, so much admired by Lord Byron, and so familiar to the readers of Childe Harold, is, in fact, the work of a modern hand.* It is strange how few scruples were felt, and how lightly such falsifications were regarded. Thus Mr. Surtees, of Mainsforth, the historian of Durham, a man of the highest character, and wholly incapable of falsehood or deception on any other subject, sent to Sir Walter Scott a Northumbrian ballad which was, every line of it, his own handiwork, but which, as he alleged, was taken down from the recitation of a woman, eighty years of age, mother of one of the miners in Alston Moor. 'She had not,' she said, 'heard it for many years; but when she was a girl it used to be

* 'Childe Harold,' canto iii., stanza 66. 'Quarterly Review,' No. elv., June, 1846.

sung at merry-making till the roof rung again.' No wonder that a tale so circumstantial was implicitly believed. Sir Walter received the gift with pleasure, and inserted it without suspicion in his 'Border Minstrelsy' as an authentic record of the olden time.*

It so happened that, long before any idea was raised of an earlier term of office for Quirinus, some surprise was expressed that, considering the importance of his government of Syria in the year 6 after Christ, when Judaea was first reduced to a Roman province, no record of him should remain on any known inscription. As though to meet this want, it was ere long announced that a monument in his commemoration had been discovered in the Venetian territory. This was first published at Padua in 1719. It refers to the proceedings of Quirinus, intending by that reference the year 6 of our Era, and it goes on to state that one of his lieutenants, AEmilius Secundus by name, had by his orders taken the Census at Apamea, where he found 117,000 citizens. Since this inscription deals only with the government of the year 6, it would be, even though of unquestionable authenticity, wholly immaterial to our present object. But it is in truth a mere modern forgery. First, as in the case of Julia Alpinula, the original stone could never be produced. Next, there are some slips in the lapidary Latin. 'I hold it to be fictitious,' says the sagacious Orelli.† 'Only those,' says Dr. Zumpt, 'who are not conversant with such inscriptions could give any credit to this.'

There is, however, another inscription which is thought to refer to Quirinus, and of which the authenticity has never been disputed. It is on a sepulchral tablet discovered near Tivoli. Several copies, the first in 1765, have been with more or less correctness taken from it; but, unhappily, the first part has altogether perished, while the second is much mutilated. We will give it as it stands in the last and most authentic copy, as taken by Mommsen and inserted by Orelli †:—

* * * * *

. . .	EGEM QUA REDACTA IN POT	. . .	.	.	.	.
AUGUSTI POPULIQUE ROMANI SENATU	.	.	.	.	.	.
SUPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PRONP	.	.	.	.	.	.
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPHI	.	.	.	.	.	.
PRO CONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP	.	.	.	.	.	.
DIVI AUGUSTI .. TERUM SYRIAM ET PH	.	.	.	.	.	.

* Note 12 to first canto of 'Marmion'; and 'Life of Robert Surtees,' published by the Surtees Society.

† 'Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio.' No. 623, ed. Turici, 1828.

‡ No. 5366 in the third and supplemental volume, published 1856. The stone itself is now in *horreis Vaticanis*. *Litteræ maynæ sunt et pulchrae.*

Mr. Lewin, who has taken great pains and shown great sagacity in discussing this inscription, has no doubt of its application to Quirinus. He observes that the two lines previous to the first that now remain might perhaps be restored as follows:—

CIVITATEM SUBEGIT HOMONADENSIMUM QUI
INTERFEUERANT AMYNTAM RE—

And he gives as an alternative of the second line—

ADFLIXERANT LATROCINIIS ARCHELAUM RE—

Of these two alternatives we must say that we greatly prefer the latter. The slaughter of King Amyntas could not be stated as the motive for the expedition of Quirinus, since an interval of some five-and-twenty years elapsed between these events.

On the first line of all, did it still remain, we might expect to find the name and titles of Quirinus; and the following would be the most probable restoration of the rest:—

* * * * *

[CIVITATEM SUBEGIT HOMONADENSIMUM QUI
ADFLIXERANT LATROCINIIS ARCHELAUM RE]
GEM QUÂ REDACTÂ IN POT[ESTATEM DIVI]
AUGUSTI POPIULIQUE ROMANI SENATU[S]
SUPPLICATIONES BINAS OR RES PROSP[ERE GESTAS ET]
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPH[ALIA DECREVIT]
PROCONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP[TINUIT LEGATUS]
DIVI AUGUSTI ITERUM SYRIAM ET [PHOENICIAM].

Our readers will observe how exactly the *Ornamenta triumphalia* of this inscription tally with the *insignia triumphi* of Tacitus, as distinguished from an actual triumph. Nor will they fail to observe the *iterum Syriam* stating distinctly that two-fold term of government which our argument has been striving to establish.

But Dr. Zumpt demurs. Writing, as is his wont, with perfect fairness, he does not adopt any argument merely because it points to his own conclusion. In this case, he has a strong doubt whether, in fact, this inscription refers to Quirinus; and he thinks that Sentius Saturninus is more probably the person implied. His main reason is founded on a passage in the 'Epitome of Roman History' by Julius Florus. Thence, as he thinks, we may deduce that Quirinus, in the period between his two governments of Syria, had subdued certain African tribes, the Marmaridae and the Garamantes, which, if he did at all, he could have done only as Proconsul of Africa or Cyrene. During that period, therefore, he could not have been Proconsul also of Asia,

Asia, as the inscription declares. Mr. Lewin argues on the contrary side, but appears to overlook the strongest of all the pleas that can be urged against this text of Florus, namely, the uncertainty of the right reading. It is well known to students of Roman History that the copies of Florus differ much from one another. Professor William Ramsay says of it:—‘As might be expected in a work which was extensively employed in the middle ages as a school-book, the text is found in most manuscripts under a very corrupt form.’* In the particular passage which we are now discussing several manuscripts give the name, not of Quirinus, but of Furnius. So it is, for instance, in the edition which is now before us, printed by Hall at Oxford in 1650, and enriched by the commentary of Stadius, Professor of History at Louvain.† The Furnius here referred to was, like Quirinus, of Consular rank, having been Consul in the year 17 before Christ. He is commemorated in a passage of Seneca for a graceful saying of his to Augustus, when he obtained his father’s pardon in the Civil Wars.‡

If, then, we are willing—as we may, on adequate authority—to read Furnius in this passage of the ‘Epitome,’ we shall have no further difficulty with the tablet from Tivoli. We may, then, be fully justified if we ascribe it to Quirinus, and please ourselves with the *iterum Syriam*—a phrase, indeed, which on any other supposition remains wholly unexplained. Should there be, however, any doubts remaining, we would by no means allege this inscription or lay any stress upon its terms, conceiving as we do that the argument of Dr. Zumpt is thoroughly convincing without it.

We must observe, however, that, as regards the exact year of the Nativity, we are not altogether in accord with Dr. Zumpt. He is not quite satisfied with fixing it at the year 5 before the Common Era, and would rather choose the year 7. His principal motive is, that in the last-named year there was a thrice-repeated conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the Fish, corresponding, as he thinks, to the ‘star in the east’ which is recorded by St. Matthew, and which led the ‘wise men’ from their country to Bethlehem. This is a suggestion which, under various forms and dates, has been not unfrequently debated of

* Article ‘Florus’ in Dr. Smith’s ‘Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.’

† This edition gives the passage as follows:—[Augustus] ‘Marmoradas atque Garamantas Furnio subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus sed mo-destior in *estimandis* victoriā fuit’ (Florus, lib. iv. p. 133).

‡ ‘Nullo magis Cesarem Augustum demeruit et ad alia impetranda facilem sibi reddidit Furnius quam quod, cum patri Antonianas partes secuto veniam impetrasset, dixit; *Ilano num Caesar habeo injuriam tuam; efficisti ut viverem et morerer ingratus.*’ (Seneca, ‘De Benef.’ lib. ii. c. 25.)

late years. But, as is well observed by the present Archbishop of York, 'the words of St. Matthew are extremely hard to reconcile with a conjunction of planets.' At all events, this is a wholly different order of ideas, into which we decline on this occasion to follow Dr. Zumpt. We take him for our guide only so far as he treats on historical ground.

Adhering, then, to that ground, we continue to maintain that the first difficulty which we have stated as arising from the text of St. Luke—his mention, namely, of the Census of Quirinus—is most fully cleared up. There remains the second difficulty, from the age of about thirty years ascribed to our Lord at the commencement of his ministry. Let it be observed that this difficulty will still exist, whatever view we may take of Quirinus. For in any case, knowing as we do the exact date of Herod's death, we cannot place Christ's birth at an earlier date than 5 before the Common Era. Assuming, then, the 15th year of Tiberius to be equivalent with 29 after Christ, there would still remain at the latter period an age of at least thirty-four years.

With this difficulty, also, Dr. Zumpt proceeds to deal in the second portion of his book. He shows, with a vast extent of erudition and alleging many cases of analogy, that St. Luke appears to have computed his 15th year of Tiberius not from the year 14, when Augustus died, but from the year 11, when Augustus, by formal decree, associated Tiberius with himself as co-regent of the provinces and joint *imperator* of the troops. On this basis, the commencement of Christ's ministry would fall in the year 26, Christ being then between thirty and thirty-one years of age. His Passion would ensue in the year 29, under the Consulship of the two Gemini, the very date assigned to it by the constant and uniform tradition of the early Church.

This explanation, which Dr. Zumpt has so ably vindicated, was, as he informs us, first propounded by an Englishman almost a century and a half ago,—Nicolas Mann, whose Latin *Essay* bears date 1743.* In our own time it has been countenanced by the high authority of the present Archbishop of York. 'The rule of Tiberius,' he says, 'may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Augustus, in the year of Rome 767, or from his joint government with Augustus, that is, from the beginning of the year 765. In the latter case, the 15th year would correspond with the year of Rome 779,

* We learn, however, from that excellent and most useful book—not yet we regret to say completed—Allibone's 'Dictionary of English Literature,' that this Latin *Essay* was only a translation of the author's earlier work in English, published 1733. Mann was master of the Charter House. Both his treatises—the Latin and the English—are in the Library of the British Museum.

which goes to confirm the rest of the calculations relied on in this article.*

We do not, however, propose to follow Dr. Zumpt into this, the second part, of his book. It is wholly distinct from the former in its line of argument, and might form the subject of a separate essay. We desire only, in adverting once again to Dr. Zumpt's complete success (for so we deem it) in the first part of his researches, to point out how encouraging is the example it affords. Here is a difficulty which but some thirty years ago Dr. Strauss was gloating over and declaring to be entirely insoluble,—and now we behold it solved. Here we have another proof that Biblical studies are not, as they were once regarded, a stationary science, but, like all other sciences, admit of progression and increase.

It was certainly too often the custom of English Divines, during the whole of the last century, and during also a part of the present, to put all thorny questions as much out of sight as possible, or, if compelled to deal with them, to be content with what the Germans call *Gerede*—an array of high-flown words that convey no definite meaning. It was not felt how much more danger there is to faith in leaving every student to discover these difficulties for himself, without any clue to guide him through them. It was not felt how far more earnest and high-minded would be the system that has now succeeded,—frankly to admit the lack of clearness whenever the explanation is imperfect: not as owning the objection to be valid, but only as inviting further thought and inquiry to resolve it. Did we desire to show an instance of the practical result of either system, we might select, on the one side, the annotated edition of the English Bible compiled by Bishop Mant and Dr. Doyly, and, on the other part, the recent *Commentary on the Greek Testament* by Dean Alford. Without intending any disrespect to the first two theologians, we must say that a student who refers to them in any perplexity will derive from them very little satisfaction. He will never find the depth to be fathomed, but only the surface smoothed over. In Dean Alford's book, on the contrary, the tone is manly and outspoken; the object is not to bind up the eyes of the inquirer, but rather to direct and invigorate his sight. It is only, we are convinced, in the latter spirit that the Church of England can continue to prevail in the coming contests. Thus, and thus alone, as we conceive, in the anxious time that is now before us, can the Christian cause be worthily professed and efficiently defended.

* Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' article 'Jesus Christ.' The archbishop was then, as Dr. Thomson, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.

ART. IX.—1. *The Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry of Horace.*

Translated into English verse by John Conington, M.A., (late) Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. London, 1870.

2. *The Odes, Epodes, and Satires of Horace.* Translated into English verse by Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London, 1870.

ACCORDING to the judgment of Lord Lytton, whose graceful version of the Odes of Horace was reviewed a little more than a year ago in these pages, Satire has no pretensions to even a secondary place beside Lyric poetry, nay, is to be reckoned as the 'antipodes' of it in its essence and mission. Lord Lytton will not allow to a satire of Horace qualities of genius superior to or other than those of the 'Gil Blas' of Le Sage, or of the Essays of Montaigne: he has neither eye nor ear for any less elevated product of the Muse than the lyric effusion which is 'the song of all times and nations.' But with all respect for one whose criticism is never valueless, whose classic taste is genuine, and whose success as a translator of the Odes we are inclined to rate very highly, we must decline to endorse an estimate which would exclude from the rank of poets an eminent section of the didactic school, and cut off, moreover, from reactionary tastes and times of life a resort to a soberer and more realistic phase of poetry than that which is found in lyric stanzas, or in Pindaric flights of fancy and metre. In the interests of that age, whether of communities or individuals, which responds no longer to the thrill of impassioned poetry, and by contact with matter-of-fact life has ceased to be impressible by melting mood, we are concerned to stand up for a style of composition, which, 'sermoni propior' though it be, can yet by its polished harmony and terse expression set off in numbers the lessons of good sense and keen observation; can, by its appeal to point, salt, and urbanity, bid the charm of versification survive the decay of ardent youth, and—adapting manner and matter to the requirements of riper experience—minister not ineffectively to the solace and entertainment of age. Horace's Satires, or even Epistles, may not represent his highest credentials of poetic genius. The shoal of translators which has gathered round his Odes, and which actually obscures the light of the two or three English scholars who have in preference bestowed their pains upon his Satires, must be taken as a proof of some charm in Horace's lyrics more widely attractive than that of his more didactic strains. Yet we are far from certain that the feature of the former most lastingly cherished, is not the terse, quotable

quotable gnomic maxim, which has, after all, a smack of the latter ; and there can be no question that the lessons of life and manners, which the *Satires* enforce in kindly spirit and hexameter form, retain the heed of veteran scholars, when the triumphs of lyric minstrelsy have lost their hold upon them. There is a time and a place for both : a season when the fancy of toying with *Lalage*, imbibing cups of Massic under the shady arbute-tree, mingling in moonlit dances, and being swept along by Bacchic frenzies, is more congenial than the lecture in verse against the vices and foibles of human nature, which Horace delivers—albeit kindly and amusingly—in his satiric poems : a season, too, when there comes a reaction, and the tables are deliberately turned. At this latter reactionary crisis the genius of Horace asserts, to our thinking, its highest claim on our admiration, no less for the exquisite urbanity, discriminative tact, and light-handed touch with which he fulfils his function of satirist, than for the perspicuity of language, and sustained, though easy, versification, in which he utters truths that *Lucilius* would have blurted out rudely and inharmoniously, and *Juvenal* have expressed with a sweeping vehemence characteristic alike of his manner and material. It is the mellow wisdom, the fund of observation, the temperate way of saying sharp things, so as to correct without offence, and conciliate reflection without seeming to assume censorial functions, which charms us in Horace's *satires* as we grow older ; nor does it at all affect this estimate, that, of all his works, according to accepted chronologies, the *Satires* were the first published. Rather should it enhance our opinion of his genius to find that at the age of from thirty to thirty-four years the son of a freedman and tax-collector was so thoroughly 'au courant' with Roman life and manners, so imbued with the 'urbanitas' which was an index of social as well as literary refinement, as to have composed and published poetry that might well have passed for the ripe fruit of an older and more imposing tree. The *Epistles*, indeed, represent an even more perfect sample, but the *Epistles* are the *Satires*, without their sting, of the poet, when ten more years had passed over his head.

Those whom a liberal education has enabled to enjoy the *Satires* in the original will not need to be reminded of all this : but in a day when, in spite of the current depreciation of classical studies, even the unlearned do not care to seem wholly unacquainted with the wit and wisdom of the ancients, or unable to trace to their sources the many borrowed gems of English poetry, it is of some importance that there should arise adequate versions of such mines of lively observation and reflection as the *Satires* of Horace ; and two such we have to welcome, not only surpassing

passing any previous attempts, but also, each in its own way, representing the Venusian so satisfactorily, that if none other should adventure this field, his shade would yet have no reason to complain of the indifference or incuriousness of Englishmen. One of these is the scholarly, well considered, able translation of the lamented Professor Conington, who to that insight into the original, which defies the possibility of a point being missed or an allusion slurred in translation, added withal so much of the native gift of poesy, and so much proficiency resulting from study and practice, that he may be said to have combined the excellences of poet and scholar in a greater measure than any of his predecessors. He scarce lived to see his version through the press. A little later, Mr. Theodore Martin, a representative of such as court the Muse in the crowded city rather than of those who woo her, like Professor Conington, in cloistered shade, enhanced the obligation, under which he had already laid scholars and general readers in his unique translation of the *Odes* and *Epodes*, by putting forth his *Satires* as their sequel. Over his former ground, which he had made his own by sparkling vivacity, genuine poetic spirit, and capital adaptation of the English lyric to the Latin, Mr. Conington had, we need hardly say, run almost neck-and-neck with him ; owing, it is true, any advantage in the estimation of scholars to the success with which he asserted and illustrated the principle of metrical conformity. But our present business is with the *Satires*, and with the demonstration, by a comparison of Mr. Conington and Mr. Theodore Martin, as translators of them, that the calibre of each is equal to the demand made upon it, and that where one manifests a peculiar gift or advantage, it finds its make-weight in some distinct speciality of the other. Nor only so ; but whereas Mr. Conington's scholarship may well have been the more unerring, and Mr. Theodore Martin's inborn poetic gift the more certain to make itself felt, it will result, we suspect, from candid inquiry, that in a measure far beyond their fellows these twain have so striven after perfectness of work, that, through a mutual interchange of excellences, it becomes hard to say which is in aught to be preferred to which, both vindicating a claim to the very first rank among English translators of the classic poets.

Their 'modus operandi' is indeed different. Whilst Mr. Martin sends forth his *Satires*—under the wing, it is true, of those established favourites, his *ode*-versions—with scarcely one word of preface, Professor Conington has gone into a preliminary inquiry as to the fittest style, form, and measure for a version of this portion of the works of Horace. This may seem to many 'de trop' ; yet, though his translation's success cannot be said to

to depend on his preface, and though prudence might dictate dependence on general effect and result, rather than on what, if current opinion is to be believed, is commonly 'lost labour' so far as nine-tenths of the reading public are concerned, still reviewers ought to own that such a preface, as that prefixed to Mr. Conington's satires, is a great help to his reviewers in suggesting test-points for comparison, and laying down lines of treatment, to serve more or less as landmarks of criticism. Not to be prolix in our use of these, it may suffice to say that the late Corpus Professor traces the difficulties of a translator of Horace's Satires to the choice of style and metre, the former question being the more perplexing of the two. As to metre, his deliberate preference is for the Heroic, as it is exemplified in the easy, sprightly muse of Cowper; and he believes it to be less obnoxious to the risk of becoming 'slipshod' than the octosyllabic verse of Butler's 'Hudibras,' which found favour with Smart and Boscawen among translators, and Swift and Pope among imitators, of Horace. It is, he urges, the colloquiality of this measure, used by himself though it was for his version of the 'Aeneis,' which constitutes its danger to a translator of the 'Satires.' It involves an ever-present risk of abuse, and a tendency to render the issue 'slipshod, interminable, unclassical.' We are not insensible to the cogency of this reasoning; though it deserves to be said in reply that there is a somewhat large field in Mr. Martin's translations into this metre (no less than eleven out of eighteen), from which to show that the danger may be minimized, if not wholly avoided. An instance might be cited from the 8th Satire of the 1st Book, in which the garden god, Priapus, describes how Canidia and her sister witches were put to flight by the undesignated action of their enchantments upon his wooden frame. Much of the satire consists of passages that might be pitfalls to a too colloquial translator, though the original here and there—in its mock heroic—rises above the average flights of satire. Mr. Martin's version sustains—though in octosyllabics—the character of the original; and the sample we quote—embodying Priapus's complaint against the witches—will show how competent a measure it proves, in his hands, to represent even graver passages. How happy is his resort to it, in lighter vein, we shall have occasion to show hereafter. The lines we quote represent I. Sat. viii. 20-29 [Hab nullo perdere possum—responsa daturas].

' Do what I will, they haunt the place,
And ever, when her buxom face
The wandering moon unveils, these cronies
Come here to gather herbs and bones.

Here

Here have I seen with streaming hair
 Canidia stalk, her feet all bare,
 Her inky cloak tucked up, and howl
 With Sagana, that boldam foul.
 The deadly pallor of their face
 With fear and horror filled the place.
 Up with their nails the earth they threw;
 Then limb-meal tore a coal-black ewe,
 And poured its blood into the hole,
 So to evoke the shade and soul
 Of dead men, and from these to wring
 Responses to their questioning.'—p. 296.

As this is one of the Satires, which, with what we cannot help considering a too sternly expurgatorial eye, Professor Conington has left untranslated, we miss the parallel heroics which might have been compared with these octosyllables: but a reference to the version of the same passage by the Rev. Francis Howes,* a translator whose meritorious but unappreciated labours Mr. Conington's generous spirit led him to unearth and vindicate, would show that the ten-syllable line has not enabled him to realize the force and life of the Latin with more terseness or precision than Mr. Martin's octosyllable. From his preface we should gather that the professor recognized no competing metre save the Hudibrastic, and we confess that so far as the fourteen-syllable ballad metre is concerned, not even Mr. Theodore Martin's use of it in rendering the 2nd and 4th Satires of the 1st Book disposes us to quarrel with his exclusiveness. To anticipate what we have to say about style, it will be allowed that a prime characteristic of Horace is terseness; and if we take up the 4th Satire and contrast the instruments, rather than the handling of them by Martin and Conington (say, in the passage where Horace commemoates his father's mode of teaching him by living examples), we cannot see how to escape a conviction that on this very score of terseness the one is unsuited to its task, at least in comparison with the other.

'I learned the habit from the best of fathers, who employed
 Some living type to stamp the vice he wished me to avoid.
 Thus temperate and frugal when exhorting me to be
 And with the competence content, which he had stored for me;
 "Look, boy," he'd say, "at Albius' son—observe his sorry plight!
 And Barrus, that poor beggar there! say, are not these a sight,
 To warn a man from squandering his patrimonial means?

—Martin, p. 276.†

* 'The Epodes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace,' translated by the late Rev. Francis Howes, M.A., Minor Canon of Norwich. London, 1848.

† I. Sat. iv. 105-11. *Insuevit pater optimus . . . perdere quis velit.*

* When

'When my good father taught me to be good,
 Scarecrows he took of living flesh and blood.
 Thus if he warned me not to spend but sparing
 The moderate means I owe to his wise care,
 T'was, "see the life that son of Albius' leads !
 Observe that Barrus, vilest of ill weeds !
 Plain beacon those for heedless youth, whose taste
 Might lead them else a fair estate to waste.'—*Conington*, p. 19.

It is not that here the superiority of Mr. Conington's version lies, as we might have expected, in his fidelity to the letter of the Latin, which, curiously enough, Mr. Martin's version more exactly reproduces: but the ear—or we are greatly mistaken—rejects instinctively the prolixity of the former measure, when competing with the latter as a representative vehicle of Horatian terseness. There is one measure—used but once, and, therefore, too seldom to afford the basis of a deliberate opinion, by Mr. Theodore Martin—that in which he renders the 2nd Satire of the 2nd Book—which possibly, had he contemplated it, Mr. Conington would have admitted to competitorial honours. It is the metre of Goldsmith's 'Haunch of Venison'—an English metre—a lively metre—a metre which no critical weighing of pros and cons will induce an honest taste to condemn as an occasional exponent of the light-handed, playful vein of Horatian satire. A snatch of it, where the satirist is quizzing Roman epicures for setting higher value on costly than on savoury dishes at their dinner parties, will serve to show the aptitudes of this measure.*

'Work till you perspire. Of all sauces 'tis best,
 The man that's with over-indulgence oppress'd,
 White-liver'd and pursy, can relish no dish,
 Be it ortolans, oysters, or finest of fish.
 Still I scarcely can hope, if before you there were
 A peacock or capon, you would not prefer
 With the peacock to tickle your palate, you're so
 Completely the dupe of mere semblance and show,
 For to buy the rare bird only gold will avail,
 And he makes a grand show with his fine painted tail.
 As if this had to do with the matter the least !
 Can you make of the feathers you prize so a feast ?
 And, when the bird's cook'd, what becomes of his splendour ?
 Is his flesh than the capon's more juicy or tender ?
 More appearance, not substance, then clearly it is
 Which bamboozles your judgment.'—p. 316.

In the other version of the same passage which lies open before

* II. Sat. ii. 20-30. Tu pulmentaria quere, &c.

us there is certainly less life and not more faithfulness ; and considering how well in this instance the measure of the above lines represents Horace's manner and spirit, one might be led to regret that Mr. Martin did not make more frequent use of it. Perhaps the secret is that it tires on the ear. We have just glanced at a new translation of the 1st Book by Mr. Millington, done from end to end in the measure of the 'Retaliation,' and the 'Haunch of Venison,' and our glance has gone far to confirm the suspicion that the ear might have too much of it. On the whole, we concur with Professor Conington that—supposing it to be a law of translation that but one equivalent is admissible for what is uniform in the original, or, in other words, that some one English metre must be elected to represent the Horatian hexameter—the metre deserving preference is the colloquial or conversational heroic. If, on the other hand, for unfastidious readers variety is desirable, and it is undeniable that alternative measures sensibly relieve the strain of uniformity and monotony, a place is at once found for the octosyllable, as well as for the other experiments in metre which Mr. Martin has used with more or less success. Much doubtless depends on tact and judgment. A translator, endowed with these, and capable of apprehending the mind and manner of his original, will seldom err by clothing his translations in an ill-fitting garb. The first concern is to realize in what Horace's style consists, and, that done, to attempt an approximate imitation of it. Towards this end Mr. Conington's preface furnishes some useful hints, discovering in the ordinary language of ancient good society, as seen in conversation and in familiar letter-writing, the best mode of representing Horace's persiflage ; and holding up for imitation his characteristic *ease* and *terseness*, as constituent parts of a manner 'on which, whether grave or gay, his charm depends,' and 'of an individuality of attraction which makes the charm of Horace unlike the charm of any other writer.'

The *ease*, perhaps, is less transferable than the *terseness* : and while we are free to admit that it is a marvel to us how cleverly the late Latin professor at Oxford has used his complete insight into the mind of Horace to give point and pungency to his translation, by means of epigram and antithesis introduced by way of compensation, it were uncandid to suppress a misgiving that here and there his version is open to the charge of stiffness, the result, it may be, of such minute acquaintance with his model that the copy suffers from being over-wrought. This, indeed, is discoverable only in a few places ; and whereas herein Mr. Theodore Martin's gay freedom of treatment puts him at once at an advantage, it is open to those whose sympathies are with Mr. Conington to retort

retort that his finished heroics are never obnoxious to the blame of vagueness or lax translation. For our own part, we are astonished at the general exactness and amount of special research into scholia and old or new commentaries which Mr. Martin's work exhibits, and could name passage upon passage which, upon inquiry, will prove to have been moulded on Bentley or Orelli; or influenced by some interpretation of one of the 'forty commentators.' But on the whole, the division of the honours of style may proceed on this wise. The palm of ease is with Martin, of terseness with Conington; although as regards both these essentials of approximate reproduction of Horace the one and the other are entitled to rank very highly. Their neck-and-neck excellence may be seen in many graver, as well as more sportive, passages, but it comes out most conspicuously in some that are neither one nor other—such, e.g., as the testimony Horace bears in Book I. Sat. vi. to his father's liberality in reference to his education—a passage in point of natural feeling as touching as Goldsmith's praise of his brother in the 'Traveller,' and one which both our translators have handled so well as to awaken an echo of that heart-prompted tribute. We give the latter lines of it from each version.*

'No; while my head's unturned, I ne'er shall need
 To blush for that dear father, or to plead
 As men oft plead, 'tis Nature's fault, not mine,
 I came not of a better, worthier line.
 Not thus I speak, not thus I feel: the plea
 Might serve another, but 'twere base in me.
 Should Fate this moment bid me to go back
 O'er all my length of years, my life retræk
 To its first hour, and pick out such descent
 As man might wish for o'en, to pride's content,
 I should rest satisfied with mine, nor choose
 New parents decked with senatorial shoes,
 Mad most would think me, sanc, as you'll allow,
 To waive a load ne'er thrust on me till now.—*Conington*, p. 30.

'Now I know
 More earnest thanks, and loftier praise I owe.
 Reason must fail me ere I cease to own
 With pride, that I have such a father known:
 Nor shall I stoop my birth to vindicate,
 By charging, like the herd, the wrong on Fate,
 That I was not of noble lineage sprung:
 Far other creed inspires my heart and tongue.

* I. Sat. vi. 89-99. *Nil me paenitent . . . portare molestum.*

For now should Nature bid all living men
Retracte their years, and live them o'er again,
Each culling, as his inclination bent,
His parents for himself, with mine content,
I would not choose, whom men endow as great
With the insignia and the seats of state;
And though I seemod insano to vulgar eyes,
Thou would'st porchance esteem me truly wisc,
In thus refusing to assume the care
Of irksome state I was unused to bear.'—*Martin*, p. 289.

We are fortunate here in finding both upon a common ground of metre, and though in each we may discover some little surplusage of words, the only bold alteration or addition is that of the 'senatorial shoes' with which Mr. Conington takes leave to tread out the 'Roman fasces and insignia'; as much, a severe critic might suggest, at the bidding of 'exigeant' rhyme, as in illustration of one of his favourite theories, that 'all translation must proceed upon a principle of compensation.' Another of the *Satires*, in reproducing which both translators have resorted to the English *Heroic*, is the tenth of the first book, a piece which has so much to say upon the scope and style of satire, that it may not be uninteresting to examine the work of each in reference to a part of it. We give Mr. Martin's version of the lines 7-14 [Ergo non satis est, &c.].

'Tis not enough, a poet's fame to make,
That you with bursts of mirth your audience shake;
And yet to this, as all experience shows,
No small amount of skill and talent goes.
Your style must be concise, that what you say
May flow on clear and smooth, nor lose its way,
Stumbling and halting through a chaos drear
Of cumbersome words that load the weary ear,
And you must pass from grave to gay—now, like
The rhetorician, vehemently strike,
Now, like the poet, deal a lighter hit
With easy playfulness, and polished wit,—
Veil the stern rigour of a soul robust,
And flash your fancies, while like death you thrust.
For men are more impervious, as a rule,
To slashing censure, than to ridicule.'—*Martin*, pp. 30-3.

Waiving the citation in full of Mr. Conington's parallel passage, we must point out one or two features in which it pleases us better than what we have just quoted. For example, the fifth and three following verses of the above passage do not so well illustrate the application to translation of the practice they recommend as this neat couplet of the Professor:—

• *Terseness*

'Torseness thereto wants, to make the thought ring clear,
Nor with a crowd of words confuso the ear:—

a couplet wherein the Latin is as closely matched in words as in length of lines, the only alteration needed being, perhaps, the substitution of 'run' for 'ring' in the first verse. A little further on, Conington recognizes no distinction, as Martin does, between 'rhetoris' and 'poetr,' but takes their style as identical, and meant to contrast with that of the 'urbanus,' or polished wit.* Mr. Martin appears to place no comma after the word 'poete' in the Latin, and hence probably the mistake. In Conington's version the style of bard and orator is set over against

'the language of a well-bred man,
Who masks his strength, and says not all he can;
And pleasantry will often cut clean through
Hard knots that gravity would scarce undo.'

The italicized line must be accepted as the truest equivalent of the words of the original, although the finely conceived couplet in which Martin amplifies the idea of Horace has the ring and seal of poetry about it. Mr. Conington's closing couplet, too, is nearer the Latin, though this is not by any means the invariable rule with him. If he had bound himself hand and foot in the trammels of literality, he would never so neatly have hit off that little illustration of a prolific poet, which Horace throws in by the way, later on in the same satire, and which we quote in compensation for our but partial citation of him above. The Latin runs

‘Etrusci
Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium; capsis quem fama est cassi librisque
Ambustum propriis.’ —I. x. 62-3.

Like to Etruscan Cassius' stream of song,
Which flowed, men say, so copious and so strong,
That, when he died, his kinsfolk simply laid
His works in order, and his pyre was made.’ —Conington, J. 41.

Terseness like this may be noted in every page of the Professor's version: and such neat, close-fitting garbs for succinct Latin lines and scraps as the following, which we string together as creditable to his pains and genius alike. Thus, 'Parvula—magno formica laboris,' in the first satire of all, reappears as 'that tiny

* The passage runs:—

‘Defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poete,
Interdum urbani, parentis viribus atque
Extenuantis eas consulto.’

type of giant industry.' 'Nil agit exemplum item quod lite resolvit' [ll. iii. 103] comes out as

‘Excuse me, ‘twill not do
To shift one question up by opening two:’

and when called upon to put into English verse what Horace says of satire, viz., that 'nisi quod pede certo differt sermoni,' it is 'sermo merus,' we know not who of translators could have hit off a terser, and yet less servile rendering than

‘And save that she talks metro, she talks prose.’—I. iv. 47.

Such short hits, we are aware, ought not to outweigh sustained excellence developed in longer passages, but that Conington's 'Satires of Horace' can boast of the latter will be admitted by any who read his version of the origin of right and law in the third satire of the first book, a passage which strikes us as the ideal of well-balanced translation.* In many cases the measure selected by Mr. Martin forbids such shorter hits as we have referred to: and the satire from which the last line quoted by us is taken, is one of these. But frequently, where both run on the same gauge, it is a nice and near contest of excellence. Take these lines from the Third Satire:—

‘Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
Postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius; aequum est
Peccatis veniam poscentem reddero rursus.’—I. iii. 73-5.

Mr. Conington translates them

‘Ho that has fears his blotches may offend
Speaks gently of the pimples of his friend:
For reciprocity exacts her dues,
And they that need excuse must needs excuse.’

The subtlety of the last line is almost excessive, though we should hesitate to pronounce its effect other than successful. Yet we are haunted by a suspicion that its elaboration mars the sense of ease, and are thus the readier to repose with cheerfulness in the simpler, and here also more faithful, translation of Mr. Martin:—

‘For, who would have his friend his wens o'erlook,
The casual freckles of that friend must brook.
And the same mercy should by us be shown
To others' sins we ask for to our own.’

Even with the latitude of his metres, too, this translator now and then steals a march on his rival through off-hand, unstudied,

* See Hor. Sat. I. iii. 99, &c., and Conington's Translation, p. 12:—

‘When men first crept from out earth's womb,’ &c.

spontaneity,

spontaneity, and the genuine ease that does not strive after effect. Thus in Sat. I. iv. 62, he takes the lines, in which Horace illustrates by a scrap of Ennius the difference between the Epic and the Satire as genuine poetry,

‘Non ut si solvas : “postquam discordia tetra
Bellum ferratos postos portasque refregit :”
Invenias etiam disiecti membra poeta—’

in their natural and transparent sense, and translates them—

‘Yet by no alchemy will you in the residuum find,
The members still apparent of the dislocated bard,
As if in like degree these lines of Ennius should be marred :’

Mr. Conington goes more out of his way. He sees, perhaps accurately, lurking in the last line an allusion to the fate of Orpheus, and following up a hint from the version of Howes, of whom we have already said he was a professed admirer, elaborates a couplet, one line of which is perfect, the other an importation, with the very slenderest warranty. Howes wrote :—

‘Here, dislocate, distort him as you will,
Though piece-meal torn, you see the poet still.’

Conington, scorning to stop short at mere allusion to the fate of the Thracian bard, improves the occasion thus :—

‘Tis Orpheus mangled by the Maenads. Still
The bard remains, unlimb him as you will.’

In like manner, when, earlier in the same satire (vv. 19, &c.), Horace disclaims likeness to Crispinus and contemporary reciters of his class, in the words—

‘At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis,
Ut mavis imitare—’

Mr. Theodore Martin expresses his point with more ease, as well as terseness, than the Professor, although the latter undoubtedly evolves the sense meant to be conveyed in a not unpoetical periphrasis :—

‘But you, be like the bellows, if you choose,
Still puffing, puffing, till the metal fuse;
And vent your windly nothings with a sound
That makes the depth they come from seem profound.’—Conington.

‘You, if you like, may imitate the blacksmith’s bellows’ blast,
That puffs and pants till in the fire the iron melts at last.’—Martin.

But it is time that we should inspect these diversely-gifted translators on what to many will seem their ‘criterion’ trial-ground,

ground, the gay, bright, satiric pictures of Roman life and society, of which the 'Journey to Brundisium' and Horace's 'Bore,'* are the type. In these, and one or two capital satires of the second book, Mr. Martin is thoroughly at home; and yet, whilst fairly revelling in the congenial relaxations of the octosyllabic metre, he does not fail to keep well before him the letter, as well as the spirit, of the pattern he reproduces. His rival, still cleaving to heroics, imports more fun and life into them than his measure might have seemed capable of; and both represent the gaiety of Horace's mood in their creditable imitations. Each, for instance, offers full change for the lively bit in the 5th Satire (Book I.), which tells how sleep was murdered in the barge, during the first night of the journey to Brundisium, by mosquitoes, bull-frogs, and unseasonably musical boatmen. Both vie in representing Horace's famous circumlocution for 'Equus Tuticus,' or, as some say, *Asculum*.†

'Then four-and-twenty miles, a good long way,
 Our coaches take us, in a town to stay
Whose name no art can squeeze into a line,
 Though otherwise 'tis easy to define :
 For water therer, the cheapest thing on earth,
 Is sold for money, but the bread is worth
 A fancy price, and travellers who know
 Their business take it with them when they go :
 For at Canninium, town of Diomed,
 The drink's as bad, and grits are in the bread.'—*Conington*, p. 25.

'In chaises hence we travel post
 Some four-and-twenty miles at most,
 At a small hamlet halting, which
 Into my verse declines to hitch,
 But by its features may be guessed :
 For water, elsewhere commonest
 Of all things, here is sold like wine :
 But then the bread so sweet, so fine,
 That prudent travellers purvey
 A stock to last them *all the day*.
 For the Cannian's full of grit,
 And yet is water every whit
 As scarce within that town, of old
 Founded by Diomedo the bold.'—*Martin*, p. 283.

* We are loth to subscribe to the opinion, though it is cogently supported by Dean Merivale, in his 'History of the Roman Empire,' vol. iv., 598, &c., that the hero of this lively satire was the poet Propertius. Horace is apt to name those whom he assails, and it would be unlike his kindly nature to lash even with his mild thong, a poet of some, though not the highest, repute among his contemporaries.

† Sat. I. v. 86-92. 'Quatuor hinc rapimur viginti et millia,' &c.

In the 10th line of the last extract it might be better to read 'beyond the day' for 'all the day,' a trifling emendation which implies no cavil at a version hitting off every point of the original, and this without any seeming effort. In Conington's parallel we note abundant skill and terseness, and creditable abstinence from omission or addition. To other places in his version of this satire we must take exception on these counts; for, in vv. 28-9, where we are told that Mæcenas and Cocceius were—

‘Missi magnis do rebus uterquo
Legati; aversos soliti componere amicos’—.

his otherwise concise couplet—

‘Sent on a weighty business, to compose
A feud, and make them friends who late were foes,’—

does injustice to the ambassadors, in that it omits the point intended in 'soliti'; and again, at the close of the satire, where Horace enumerates his Epicurean theory as to the gods, and denies that

‘Si quid miri faciat Natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto cœli demittere tecto.’—v. 102-3,

we venture to think that he would have shrunk from the 'meiosis,' or disparaging circumlocution, with which the Professor unwarantly represents 'alto cœli tecto.'—e. g. :—

‘Tell the crazed Jews such miracles as these!
I hold the gods live lives of careless ease,
And, if a wonder happens, don’t assume
‘Tis sent in anger from the *upstair*’s room.’

Mr. Martin does better in both passages, by simply treading in the tracks of the Latin. With him Horace's companions are

‘Upon a mission bound
Of consequence the most profound,
For who so skilled the feuds to close
Of those, once friends, who now were foes?’—p. 280.

and he, too, is content to leave unvulgarized the Horatian phrase for the 'home of the Gods,' and to translate the lines expressing Horace's doubt as to their interference with the concerns of earth :—

‘For true
I hold it that the deities
Enjoy themselves in careless ease:
Nor think, when Nature, spurning law,
Does something that inspires our awe,
‘Tis sent by the offended gods
Direct from their *angry abodes*’

On the 9th Satire [Ibam forte viâ] both have bestowed successful pains. Let us try both as to the famous passage where Horace's interpellation 'Est tibi mater, &c.,' provokes an answer waggishly misinterpreted by him to be a confession of wholesale murders, of which he adjures his 'tease' to fill up the measure, by adding him to the list, and so verifying the Sabine witch's prediction.*

'Ho paused for breath: I falteringly strike in—
"Have you a mother? Have you kith and kin
To whom your life is precious?" "Not a soul!
My line's extinct, I have interred the whole!"
"O happy they!" (So into thought I fall)
After life's endless babble they sleep well:
My turn is next: dispatch me: for the weird,
Has come to pass which I so long have feared.
The fatal weird a Sabine beldam sung,
All in my nursery days, when life was young:
"No sword nor poison e'er shall take him off:
Nor gout, nor pleurisy, nor wracking cough:
A babbling tongue shall kill him; let him fly
All talkers, as he wishes not to die."—*Conington*, p. 35.

'Hero was an opening to break in
"Have you a mother, father, kin,
To whom your life is precious?" "None;
I've closed the eyes of every one."
Oh, happy they, I only groan.
Now I am left, and I alone.
Quick, quick, despatch me where I stand,
Now is the direful doom at hand
Which erst the Sabine beldam old,
Shaking her magic urn, foretold
In days when I was yet a boy:
"Him shall no poisons fell destroy,
Nor hostile sword in shock of war,
Nor gout, nor colic, nor catarrh.
In fulness of the time his thread
Shall by a prato-spae be shred;
So let him, when he's twenty-one,
If he be wise, all babblers shun.'—*Martin*, p. 300.

The skill with which Professor Conington has rendered the points of this colloquy and the mock heroic tenor of the witch's prophecy, is considerable; and if any critics are minded to object to his inlaying a slightly altered line from Macbeth, by

* Sat. I. ix. 26-34. 'Est tibi mater . . . adoleverit utas.'

way of adding effect to the pregnant exclamation 'Felices !' we cry pardon for it, on the ground of its appropriateness, as a supplement both to the sense and spirit of the passage. Yet the palm is due to Mr. Martin, who, without such resort, has represented as faithfully as fluently the easy rapid transition of Horace's vivacious fancy. Avoiding successfully the stiffness of severe literality, he catches every thread of the poet's tissue, and turns it to account in reproducing the charm and effect of the whole. It is curious that this should be so palpably his merit here and elsewhere, in comparison with his distinguished rival; but that it is even so, one may see when, having to render—

'Nil sine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus.'—I. ix. 60,

he turns it into—

'Nought
In life without much toil is bought'—

simple English, which is more a *bonâ fide* translation than Conington's—

'In this world of ours
The path to what we want ne'er runs on flowers;—

which, even as a paraphrase, one can hardly identify with the Horatian saw. Into other like gnomic sentences of Horace, two of which occur to us, Mr. Martin, without equal conciseness, has thrown singular life, and yet not introduced alien matter. His equivalent for Sat. I. vii. 10, which we give with the Latin, might pass for a bit of Hudibras:—

'Hoc etenim sunt omnes juro molesti,
Quo fortis, quibus adversum bellum incidit'—

'But as a law, when men fall out,
Just in proportion as they're stout
In heart or sinews, neither will
Give in till they are killed or kill.'

The other sentence comes from the last satire—one of the gastronomic satires—of the Second Book, and forms a maxim to inspire Amphitryons and heroes alike.

'Sed convivatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res
Adversæ nudare solent, celare secundæ.'—II. viii. 73-4.

Mr. Martin's rendering of it is happy enough to pass into a proverb:—

'But

'But then the genius of a host,
As of a general, is most
Brought out, when adverse fates assail it,
A course of luck servos but to veil it.'—Martin, p. 379.*

We fear that we have been already too liberal of quotation, to make room for any quotations from the gastronomic satires, as the 2nd, 4th, and 8th of the 2nd Book may be termed. They are amusing to read, as showing that the dogmatism of cooks' oracles is by no means of modern growth, and a reviewer of cookery books might do worse than salt his articles with scraps of the translations before us, which give out the 'dicta' of the anonymous 'officier de bouche' of the 4th Satire, with all the consequence of Jules Gouffé or Urban Dubois. The poet, we cannot doubt, was quizzing the professor when he set down the words—

'Pratensisibus optima fungis
Natura est: aliis male creditur.'—II. iv. 20.

'To meadow mushrooms give the prize,
And trust no others, if you're wise.'

He must have been too country-born and too good a judge, not to utilize, as his nation does to this day, the numerous esculent agarics. A little extract from an account of a feast of a different kind, the country-mouse's 'at home,' in the admirable finish of the 6th Satire of Book II., we cannot refrain from giving—told as it is by each translator so completely in his own style: Conington being neat, terse, and very Horatian; Martin, on the other hand, lively and freer, to the advantage of his picture, and with no detriment to fidelity. Here is his 'field-mouse' doing host:—

'In brief he did not spare his board
Of corn and pease, long cooly stored:
Raisins he brought, and scraps, to boot,
Half gnawed of bacon, which he put
With his own mouth before his guest.
In hopes, by offering his best
In such rarity, he might
Persuade him to an appetite.
But still the eit with languid eyo
Just picked a bit, then put it by;

* Conington's renderings are:—

'For 'tis a rule, that wrath is short or long,
Just as the combatants are weak or strong.'—I. vii. 10.

'But gifts concealed by sunshine are displayed
In hosts, as in commanders, by the shade.'—II. viii. 73-4.

Which with dismay the rustic saw
 As, stretched upon some stubby straw,
 He munched at bran and common grits,
 Not venturing on the dainty bits.'—IL vi. 88-9.—*Martin*, p. 363.

The expansion of the lines—

‘*Cupiens variâ fastidia cœnâ
 Vincoro tangontis malo singula dento superbo,*’

in the verses italicized is as happy as can be conceived. Now let us turn to Conington:—

‘He spares not oats nor vetches; in his chaps
 Raisins he brings and nibbled bacon scraps,
 Hoping by varied dainties to entice
 His town-bred guest, *so delicate and nice*,
Who condescended graciously to touch
Thing after thing, but never would take much,
 While he, the owner of the mansion, sits
 On threshed-out straw, and spelt and darnels etc.’

—*Conington*, p. 84.

It will hardly do after the former extract; good as it is, and for the most part skilful, there is a formality about it; and though the Professor never wrought but on a principle and system which he could ably justify, it may be doubted, throughout his translation of the Satires, whether their one sole drawback is not the effort, which he owns to, of compensating the heavy outgoings of translation by trifling additions, in the way of imported point and pungency, to the general sum of liveliness.* Meaning to achieve something of this kind in Englishing the line and a half, which we have cited from the Latin above, he does not seem to us to have quite succeeded.

It must be said, however, that Professor Conington's compensatory principle never betrays him into solecisms as regards the substitution of modern equivalents for ancient allusions. Refined scholarship is the surest guarantee in this respect. Though he assumes such mild licences, as calling a 'scarus' a 'sardine,' and writing 'pounds' for 'sestertia,' he has too rich a sense of the fitness of things to talk, as he instances Dryden talking in translation, of the 'Louvre of the Sky,' and he would have revolted from the taste of a most recent translator, who has had the courage to render 'invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto,' 'Singing, that jealous might make a Sims Reeves.' And we commend with confidence to any incepting translator of a classical author, the excellent advice of the Professor in his Preface, pp. xviii-xx., as regards 'the patent difficulty of

* See Preface, p. xiv.

knowing what to do with local and temporary customs, .allusions, and proverba.' It has this great advantage, that the practical illustration of it is contained within the same cloth covers. Mr. Theodore Martin, on his part, is no less careful to avoid sacrificing the air and prestige of ancient life and thought, which there is in his original, by unwarrantable modernisms. We hardly call to mind a phrase to which exception can be taken, unless, perhaps, it be the repetition more than once (for once was all very well) of the expression 'thundering réveillé,' to represent 'knocking vehemently at a door.' It is a mannerism which might well be retrenched, and which one should not care to meet again in the Epistles, which every scholar must hope are in due time to follow Martin's 'Satires of Horace.' We have said enough to show how very highly we rate these. In a brief 'In memoriam' to Professor Conington, in the 4th No. of the 2nd volume of the 'Journal of Philology,'* Professor Munro 'does not hesitate to say that he believes his translation of the Satires and Epistles of Horace to be on the whole, perhaps, the best and most successful translation of a Classic, that exists in the English language.' This is saying much, but, everything considered, hardly too much. Caution would suggest the qualification 'one of the best,' or 'one of the very best.' That which makes it so is the unerring penetration of the original author's sense, of which all lesser scholars are sure now and then to fall short. In examining both the versions at the head of this article with an eye to a correct estimate of the Latin meaning, we have constantly found each at-one in adopting the soundest interpretation of a doubtful phrase. For example, in rendering

'Cum referro negas quali sit quisque parento
Natus, dum *ingenuus*.'—I. vi. 8,

both accept Gesner's interpretation of 'ingenuus,' *h.e.* 'ingenuis moribus,' and repudiate the other forced and improbable explanation, which Howes makes a faint effort to recommend by a not very obvious 'double entendre.'

'No matter, where, you say, or whence they rose,
So but their blood in gentle current flows.'

In Englishing 'Tricesima Sabbathæ' (I. ix. 69), we see that both have thoroughly digested the note of Orelli; and in II. ii. 50, the palm of fullest accuracy is due to Mr. Martin, who by a periphrasis has got in the sarcastic joke on Gallonius's failure for the pratorship, which, either because his verse would not admit it, or because he saw fit to discredit the commentator's

* 'Journal of Philology,' vol. ii. pp. 334-5.

gossip, Conington's translation ignores. With him, 'Donec vos auctor docuit prætorius' is simply, 'Until a prætor taught us they were good.' With Martin more truly, in spite of circumlocution—

"Till that prætor, for suffrages vainly intreating,
Discovered and taught, both were excellont eatings."

On the other hand, Mr. Conington's rendering of 'malis ridentem alienis,' II. iii. 72* (a phrase, touching which commentators are at issue), exhibits more grasp than Mr. Martin's; and in passages where the latter has gone slightly astray, the Professor's nice accuracy supervenes to set him right. One such is—

'Missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
Sive quod Appula gens, seu quod Lucania bellum
Incureret violenta:'—II. i. 36,

a passage in which Mr. Martin's translation reads as if 'sive quod' introduced an alternative cause of the Venusian being located where he was; whereas 'sive' and 'seu,' as Conington sees, do but explain the possible enemies Rome had to fear.

'Planted 'tis said, there in the Samnites' place,
To guard for Rome the intermediate space,
Lest *these* or *those* some day should make a raid
In time of war, and Roman soil invade.'—Conington.

Another is where the picture of Ofellus, 'metato in agello'—

'Cum pecore et natis fortem mercede colonum.'—II. ii. 114-115,

really represents him as a *tenant* to a *soldier* ('an intruding veteran,' Conington puts it), to wit, the Umbrenus, to whom commissioners had meted out the farm of which Ofellus had been once owner. Mr. Martin seems to have overlooked this, and to have misunderstood 'mercede' by translating it 'to profit.'

In every such difficulty Conington's version is a safe guide, and it is this, superadded to his taste, discrimination, and not small poetic gift, which goes far to justify Mr. Munro's very high estimate, and to recommend his book to every student of the Satires. Beside the veterans who still cherish their *Ho ace*, and love to refresh their memory of his wit and wisdom by draughts not only at the fountain-head, but also at such 'off-springs' as the translations of Conington and Martin, there will

* 'He'll laugh till scarce you'd think his jaws his own.'—C.

'Drag him to court, his face all grin
At taking you so finely in.'—M.

be two classes of readers to benefit by those versions. First, the young students, to whom in unravelling the poet's sense—depending often on mental supply of connecting links—the accurate, masterly, sequence of the argument in Conington's version cannot fail to prove a real boon; while, as life and spirit are the salt of a translation of Horace, and as the knowledge of his Satires will be clearly most imperfect without some perception of these features, the gay, brisk, sparkling verses of Theodore Martin's translation will furnish them with a recipe for throwing life into their presentments of the poet, whether in *viva voce* or on paper. We should like a son of ours to attack the Satires of Horace with an Orelli, flanked on either side by Conington and Martin, and feel sure that then, especially with regard to the most original of the poet's works, he would never be minded to sing with Lord Byron :—

‘Then farewell, Horace, whom I hated so.’

The other class is the growing one of non-classical readers,* who have sense enough to value on faith the treasures which they find difficulty in unearthing, but from which, not so long ago, statesmen, orators, and good talkers took pride in borrowing or quoting. It is scarce to be expected, or even wished, that in our busy age undue patience should be shown to the man who, give him rope, would quote Horace in season and out of season; yet the power, thirstily husbanded, is no mean one, for there are few better ‘man of the world's vade mecum’ than the Satires and Epistles. Out of the reading of these—even in translation and at second-hand—will be gleaned many a pleasant hint as to minor morals, many a neatly turned maxim or figure of speech, to garnish style or leaven conversation: and, when the book is laid by, the memory will retain so choice a residuum of pleasantries, railleries, and skits at vices and foibles, that the

* To this class we commend the ‘Horace, by Theodore Martin,’ which forms the sixth volume of the series of ‘Ancient Classics for General Readers,’ edited by Mr. Lucas Collins. This volume has been published since the main portion of the foregoing article was written, and is devoted to a general view of the poet's life and writings; whereas we have been considering only a particular portion of the latter. But though we have neither quoted it, nor made use of it, we have no hesitation in saying that the reader, who is wholly, or for the most part, unable to appreciate Horace untranslated, may, with the insight he gains from the lively, bright, and, for its size, exhaustive little volume to which we refer, account himself hereafter familiar with the many-sided charms of the Venusian, and able to enjoy allusions to his life and words, which would otherwise have been a sealed book to him. It will also be found by young students a by no means imperfect introduction to the life and manners of Augustan Rome. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to recommend the other volumes of this useful Series, most of which are executed with discrimination and ability.

time spent upon it will have been no more wasted than those hours which, if report tells truth, one of our not classically educated public men has bestowed so profitably on Milton. In any wise—to recur to the same stanza of 'Childe Harold,' from which we have just quoted above, and to take the liberty of transposing the words of another line of it—the mere English reader may learn from two such excellent presentments of Horace's Satires, as those on which we have been dwelling, 'to love,' even though he cannot to the full 'comprehend his verse,' and to be well content with what is set before him in them :

'E'en though no deeper moralist rehearse
Our little life, nor Bard prescribe his art,
Nor livelier Satirist the conscience pierce,
Awakening without wounding the touched heart.'*

ART. X.—1. *Nipon o Daï Itsu Rau, ou Annales des Empereurs du Japon.* Traduites par M. Isaac Titsingh, avec un Aperçu de l'Histoire mythologique du Japon par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1834.

2. *Nippon : Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern.* Von Ph. Fr. von Siebold. Elberfeld, 1851.
3. *Bibliographie japonaise ou Catalogue des Ouvrages Relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le XV^e Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par M. Léon Pages. Paris, 1859.
4. *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence, with a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen.* By Henry Venn, B.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's. London, 1862.
5. *Japan : being a Sketch of the History, Government, and Officers of the Empire.* By Walter Dickson. Edinburgh, 1869.

THE Portuguese, as is well known, first brought an European prow into the Indian seas. In 1497, Vasco da Gama doubled the stormy Cape and landed at Calicut on the Malabar coast. The same improvements in ship-building and skill in navigation which enabled the Portuguese to reach, helped them to rule over, those distant seas. Their clumsy *caravels*, armed with a few rude pieces of artillery, destroyed the frail barks of the timid navigators of the Indian Ocean with almost as much ease as the English and the Dutch steamers now-a-days run down the piratical *prahus* of the Sunda Islanders. The

* 'Childe Harold,' IV. lxxvii.

Portuguese were the tyrants of the seas and the terror of the Mecca pilgrims. They seized upon a number of maritime stations, among others Ormuz, Diu, Malacca, and several of the Moluccas, whence they could command the trade of the East. They twice attempted to take Aden, but without success. Goa was their capital; from it they ruled over most of the towns on the Malabar coast. But the petty princes who then shared the south of the Indian peninsula did not tamely submit to the sway of the Portuguese, whose cruelty and treachery they soon learned to detest. An incessant series of petty wars, although generally turning out to the advantage of Portugal, was still too heavy a drain on a country whose population was scarcely sufficient for the vast enterprises it had undertaken in India, Africa, and America. The rivalry of the Spaniards alarmed them, and they were getting more and more embroiled in hostilities with the nations of the northern coast of Africa. The Portuguese were, therefore, anxious that their dominions in India should be placed on a more secure and peaceable tenure, which might save a moiety of the large garrisons necessary to hold so many scattered posts along a permanently hostile coast. 'After many deliberations at the Council of Portugal to find some measures which might in future conciliate the Indians, it was determined to try the assistance of religion in consideration of the fruit they had gained from it in the kingdom of Congo.'* This was very much to the taste of the king, John III., and his brother, Cardinal Henry, who favoured the new order of Loyola and introduced the Inquisition into Portugal (1533).

An application was made to the Pope for two Jesuit missionaries to go out to India: Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez were sent. Rodriguez was induced by the king to remain in Portugal, where he founded the Jesuit college of Coimbra, and as confessor to the court rendered important service to the mission: but Francis Xavier set sail for the Indies in the same ship with the viceroy, Don Martin Alphonse de Sousa. Xavier was a Spanish gentleman, whom Ignatius Loyola had gained over to his new order at Paris, where he was delivering lectures on the philosophy of Aristotle. When he left Lisbon, he was thirty-six years of age, seven of which he had spent in the order of Loyola, whose system, maxims, and policy he had thoroughly learned. The squadron that bore the Jesuit missionary, with two assistants, reached Goa on the 6th May, 1542, after a voyage of thirteen months.

Little had been done as yet to spread Christianity amongst the

* Osorius 'Histoire de Portugal, contenant les Gestes mémorables des Portugais dans les Indes,' Paris, 1588, liv. xx.

Indians. The Portuguese conquerors, according to the accounts of their own historians, lived after the most dissolute fashion surrounded by their concubines and slaves. Justice was sold in the tribunals, and the most hideous crimes were only punished when the criminals had not money enough wherewith to corrupt their judges. Even the bigotry which characterises the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula seemed for the time to slumber. Francis Xavier began by preaching a purification of manners amongst the Portuguese; and after converting a number of the slaves and Pagan inhabitants of Goa, he set out for the southern coasts of India. Here the Franciscans had been before him. Twenty thousand of the pearl-fishers had submitted to the rite of baptism on the promise that they would be protected against the inroads of the Mahometans; but few of them understood the nature of the ceremony which they had undergone. Xavier never dreams of denying the share which the temporal power of the Portuguese bore in the triumphant success of his mission.

'It sometimes happens,' he writes,* 'that I baptize a whole town in one day. This is in a great measure to be attributed to the Governor of India, both because he is a singular friend and favourer of our Society, and because he spares neither expense nor labour to promote the propagation of the faith. By his assistance we have on this coast thirty Christian towns.'

A little after Xavier despatches a messenger to Portugal to complain of the slackness of the Portuguese officials; and the king in reply sends out a new viceroy and grants Xavier the most ample inquisitorial powers. Idolatry was suppressed in the Portuguese possessions; and both threats and promises were used to gain the natives to Christianity. Certainly these were not the only means employed by Xavier in his missionary enterprise.

* The Latin edition of 'Xavier's Letters' generally used is that printed at Mayence, a reprint of that of Rome, 1596. There are several French translations. In an able and not entirely undeserved criticism of Mr. Venn's 'Life and Labours of St. Francis Xavier,' in the 'Dublin Review,' July, 1864, the reviewer denies that Francis Xavier used the assistance of the secular power of the Portuguese to help his conversions. There is no space here to quote from authorities. Let the reader who wishes to find proof for himself compare pp. 38-42 of the article in the 'Dublin Review' with the original letter of Xavier there cited, and with Lueena, 'Vida do Padre S. Francisco de Xavier,' tomo i. livro ii. cap. xvii.; and with 'La Vie de Saint-François Xavier,' par D. Bouhours, Paris, 1783, liv. iii. pp. 133-6; and 'L'Histoire des Choses plus memorables en Indes orientales,' &c., par Jarrie, Bourdeaux, 1608, liv. ii. chap. ii.

In the 'Epistole Indicae,' pp. 261-288, and in the work of Jarrie (see liv. ii. chap. iii. and iv., and also liv. v.), there are accounts written by the Jesuits themselves of the violent and reckless manner in which the inhabitants of the islands round about Goa as well as those of the mainland of Salsette were forced to become Christians by Xavier's immediate successors at the College of the Holy Faith.

Neither could he without the Portuguese, nor the Portuguese without him, have worked out the extraordinary results which have been the boast of Catholicism ever since. Nothing could be more fitted to strike the mind of the Indian than the character, appearance, and manner of life of the apostle. In person he was tall and rather spare, but well proportioned, with brown hair, fair complexion, and blue eyes. The expression of his face was lively and cheerful; his address affable and winning. He made the same garment do for frock and mantle, and lived on a morsel of bread. He rarely slept more than four hours a day, and his rest was often broken by extatic visions and pious exclamations. He went about on foot under the burning sun of India; and his whole time was employed in preaching, instructing, and directing his subordinates. His missionary labours on the coast of India occupied three years, and extended from Goa to Meliapur on the opposite coast of the peninsula. Leaving his converts to his assistants and catechists, Xavier then set out for Malacca, from which place he sailed amongst the Moluccas and the adjacent islands, returning to India two years afterwards.

It must be borne in mind that the Apostle of the Indies was both the leader and director of a widely spread missionary movement, conducted by a rapidly increasing staff, not only of Jesuits,* but also of priests and missionaries of other orders, as well as of native preachers and catechists. Xavier reserved for himself the arduous task of travelling to regions as yet unvisited by any preachers of Christianity; and his bold and impatient imagination was carried away by the idea of bearing the Cross to the countries of the farthest East. The islands of Japan, already known to Europe through the travels of Marco Polo, had been reached by the Portuguese only eight years before, namely, in 1541, and Xavier, while at Malacca, had conversed with navigators and traders who had visited that remote coast. A Japanese, named Angero (Hansiro), pursued for homicide, had fled to Malacca in a Portuguese ship. He professed a real or feigned desire to be baptized, and was presented to Xavier at Malacca, who sent him to Goa. There he learned Portuguese quickly, and was baptized under the name of Paul of the Holy Faith. One of the most curious documents in the 'Epistola Indica'† is a short account of Japan, written from the information furnished by this man.

* In a letter, dated Cochin, 14th January, 1549, Xavier enumerates twenty Jesuit missionaries already in the Indies; four of whom were at the Moluccas, two at Malacca, ten in India, and four at Socotora.

† 'Epistola Indica,' Louvain, 1586, pp. 175-198.

The missionaries appear struck for the first time with the external resemblance* between Buddhism and Catholicism: the anonymous author of the Epistle, which must have been written in 1549, finds in Japan most of the doctrines of the infallible church—one God, the Miraculous Conception, the Trinity, Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, Angels, the worship of the saints, and the existence of one living supreme Head of the Church. The doctrines of Xagua (Sankya) were, he says, brought through China to Japan above five hundred years before, from a kingdom to the west of China named Cegnico, which he evidently imagines to have been the Holy Land, little dreaming it was the country in which he then was. Christianity, the writer had just been informed by a bishop of the Armenian Church, had once been preached in China. It might, he thinks, have been altered and disfigured by some impostor like Mahomet, and thus Xavier, whose intended voyage to Japan was announced, would only have to restore the true faith to its original purity. Some of the points of analogy mentioned in the little treatise were entirely fanciful, yet no two religions of independent origin can resemble one another more closely in external ritual, and yet differ more thoroughly in spirit, than the Buddhist religion and the Roman Catholic Church. Every one who has been in a Buddhist temple cannot have failed to have remarked its resemblance to a Catholic chapel: the paintings, the use of bells and rosaries, the same veneration for relics, the shaven, celibate priests, with their long robes and wide sleeves, the prayers in a dead language, the measured chant, the burning of incense, the orders of monks, nuns, and anchorites, and other institutions, characteristic of both religions, have for ages tempted Catholic missionaries to call Buddhism the devil's imitation of Christianity, and induced the learned to conclude that the ritual of the one has been borrowed from that of the other, though it has not been agreed which was the copyist.

Having carefully arranged the affairs of the Seminary of the

* The resemblance between the Buddhist and Roman Catholic ritual was noticed by Xavier, though it does not appear to have struck him so forcibly as we might expect. See his letter, Kagosima, 3rd Nov. 1549, and the note in the French translation, Brussels, 1838, vol. ii. p. 160. It is noticed by Bouhours, 'Vie de Saint-François Xavier,' in his chapter on Japan, and by Bartoli, lib. ii. cap. vi. See also Alcock's 'Japan,' vol. i. p. 336, vol. ii. p. 309. The Catholic ritual has in like manner been mistaken for that of Buddhism. Jerome Xavier, while residing at the court of the great Akber, was informed by a traveller that the people of Cathay were Christians, which induced the father to send a missionary to China through Thibet. In the subsequent pages it has not been thought necessary to cite all the authorities consulted in writing this article. Most of the 'Littere Annue,' and other rare works of the Jesuit missionaries, are in the library of the Museum Calvet at Avignon, where we have consulted them. Some of them will be found with difficulty elsewhere.

Holy Faith at Goa and the entire machinery of the mission, Francis Xavier took ship for Malacca on the 14th April, 1549. On the 24th of June he sailed for Japan, along with Angero and his two companions, in a Chinese junk belonging to a famous pirate, an ally of the Portuguese, who left in their hands hostages for the safety of the apostle on the voyage.* After a dangerous voyage they reached Kagosima, the native town of Angero, under whose auspices Xavier was well received by the governor, magistrates, and other distinguished people. The apostle was unable to commence his mission at once, though, according to his biographers, he possessed the gift of tongues. 'We are here,' he writes, 'like so many statues. They speak to us, and make signs to us, and we remain mute. We have again become children, and all our present occupation is to learn the elements of the Japanese grammar.' His first impressions of Japan were very favourable, and remind us of those of our own ambassador, Lord Elgin, when, after a long interval, those islands were again opened to European commerce. Japan was then, as now, under the nominal rule of the Dairi or Mikado, who resided at Miako, but his power was well-nigh reduced to the privilege of giving titles. The authority of the Cubo or Siogun had also become very much relaxed, and the islands were divided amongst fourteen kings,† who in their turn counted chieftains under them that pretended to a greater or lesser degree of independence, according to their strength or opportunity. Their power depended upon the number of their armed retainers, whose services they rewarded by grants in land. There were few merchants, and the labouring classes were little regarded. Japan was then celebrated for its gold and pearls, but owing to the smallness of trade the country still remained poor. The arts seem to have made as much progress as in Europe. Xavier evidently considers the Japanese as a nation not behind any European one in civilization, and speaks of Miako as a greater city than Lisbon. He noticed the same strange customs as our travellers of to-day. Amongst them, the well-known practice of Hara-Kiri, or suicide, is not wanting.

* Tursellinus, 'De Vita Francisci Xaverii,' 1596, lib. iii. cap. xix.; Lucena, 'Vida,' libro vi. capitulo xiv. p. 413.

† Solier, 'Histoire ecclésiastique des Isles et Royaumes du Japon,' Paris, 1627, enumerates sixty-six independent kings, over whom the Dairi was nominally paramount. But what extensive knowledge would it demand to prove such a proposition? We have taken the number given by Angero in 'Epistolis Indicis,' *in cit.* The Jesuit chroniclers always call the Mikado the Dairi, a name now used for the court of the Mikado; in the same way they call the Siogun the Cubo, or Cubosama. The word Tycoon, unfortunately adopted in the recent commercial treaties, is neither Japanese nor European, and has now little chance of coming into use since the office of the Siogun has been lately suppressed.

Five hundred years before, the religion of Buddha had been introduced from China, and the ancient idols broken (*idolis comminutis*). This primitive form of devotion, the worship of the Camis or Sintos, which Buddhism has not yet entirely supplanted, seems to have consisted in the adoration of the powers of nature, and the apotheosis of great kings and heroes.* We learn from some of Xavier's successors that Buddhism was divided into two great sects, the most numerous of which was called Xodoxins, who devoted themselves to the worship of Amida. The second was called Foquexus from the book Foque, which contained their revelation written in a foreign language. They were the followers of Xaca or Xagua (Sankya). Mr. Dickson thinks that the Bonzes or Buddhist priests were now at the height of their power, but it was the opinion of the early Jesuit fathers that the Bonzes had already lost much of their influence and most of their revenues, which were originally large. They now subsisted principally upon alms, and upon the sums received from their religious ministrations and attendance upon funerals. We are told, however, by Xavier that most of the learning of the country and the education of the youth were still in their hands.

There was also in Japan a materialistic school of philosophy, as in India and China. It was confined to the upper classes, and only taught in secret. The Japanese, writes Xavier, surpassed in probity all the nations he had ever met with. They were ingenious, frank, faithful, fond of honour and of dignity. They had a passion for bearing arms, were poor, and lived on rice and a spirituous liquor distilled from it, but they were contented, and the nobility despised plebeian opulence. He notices again and again, with admiration, that almost every Japanese can read, and the defective ideographic characters strike him as better than our phonetic symbols, for he observes that people who use different languages, such as the Chinese and Japanese, are equally able to understand the same signs. He also remarks that the people are of an inquiring turn, candid, and ready to yield to the force of argument. When he had learned enough of the language to speak a little of it, he commenced his mission. Angero had already made some converts among his household relations and friends, but these attempts do not seem to have attracted much opposition, and even Xavier's first preachings excited more attention than contradiction. For the first time in Japan, he preached a personal God, the Creator of the Universe, and

* See an interesting article of Father Monnion, a Catholic missionary, now or lately in Japan, on 'Mythologie japonaise' 'Revue de l'Orient,' Feb. 1863; also the introduction of M. Klaproth, *op. cit.*

shewed the materialistic tendency of the Buddhist religion. His old lectures at the College of St. Barbe in Paris no doubt stood him in good stead. He had already had an interview with the King of Satsuma, who had forgiven Angero for his crime, and who now granted to Xavier an edict allowing his subjects the liberty of embracing the Christian religion. On the 3rd of November, 1549, Xavier again writes, directing three of the best missionaries to come out to join him, finding the disposition of the Japanese very favourable to the Gospel. He also mentions that two bonzes intended to proceed to Goa to be educated at the College of the Holy Faith. His next letter is dated nearly a year after ; he had passed the time in studying Japanese, into which language he had translated the principal articles of the Creed, and a short account of the Creation. He had made about a hundred converts, but the King of Satsuma began to look coldly on Xavier and his companions, because the Portuguese vessels, which had at first always come to Kagosima, now sailed to Firando,* enriching his enemy. Mr. Dickson informs us that Kagosima is not a place well fitted for a large trade, being too far out at sea, and cut off by high ranges of hills from the interior. Nevertheless, this desertion made the king disposed to listen to the representations of the Bonzes as to the danger of the people renouncing the religion of their ancestors, and he ordered that any one who received baptism should be put to death. This intolerant decree compelled Xavier to leave Kagosima for Firando, but as he and his companions could not yet speak the language fluently, they did not make more than a hundred converts. They then left for Amanguchi, the residence of a powerful native prince, and afterwards went to Miako, but finally took up their abode at Amanguchi. The ruler of this place gave Xavier permission to preach the Gospel within the bounds of his principality, and assigned him and his companions an unoccupied monastery for their residence. Here Xavier lectured twice a day upon the Japanese religion. His discourses were numerously attended by the Bonzes, the nobility, and the common people. At the end of every lecture he answered the objections which were made against it, and, as he tells us, with signal success. He remarks that those who were most eager and pointed in their opposition were the first to be converted, became his most intimate friends, and revealed to him the peculiar doctrines of the different religious sects. Day and night he was besieged by a crowd of importunate questioners, and called without ceremony to satisfy the curiosity of the great. The result of the conferences, which lasted two

* Solier, liv. ii. chap. iv.

months,

months, was the conversion, or at least the baptism, of five hundred people. Xavier left Japan on the 20th November, 1551, after a stay of two years and four months.

In his controversies with the Japanese, Xavier had been continually met with the objection—how could the Scripture history be true when it had escaped the notice of the learned men of China? It was Chinese sages who had taught philosophy and history to the Japanese, and Chinese missionaries who had converted them to Buddhism. To China, then, would he go to strike a blow at the root of that mighty superstition. Accordingly he sailed from Goa about the middle of April, 1552, with a merchant, named James Pereira, who was to act as ambassador to the Emperor of China. On arriving at Malacca, this man becoming involved in a quarrel with the Portuguese governor, was forcibly detained, and Xavier went on alone to the island of San-Cean, a place of rendezvous between the Chinese and Portuguese merchants, distant about half a day's sail from Canton. But no one had the courage to brave the penal laws which guarded the entrance of foreigners into China; and, being a prey to continual anxiety to reach the new scene of his labours, Xavier fell ill, apparently of remittent fever, and died on the 2nd of December, 1552. According to a story which is believed throughout the Catholic world, his body was miraculously preserved from corruption, and was fifteen months after landed at Goa, perfectly fresh and soft as if he had died the day before. It was consigned with great solemnity to its last resting-place in the vault of the Church of the Holy Faith at Goa, where it still remains an object of pilgrimage and religious veneration to the native Christians of the Malabar coast, who regard the Apostle of the Indies as in no way behind the immediate disciples of Christ, and attribute to him a long roll of the most astounding miracles and prodigies. One who reads the wonderful tales of the acts of canonisation of Saint Francis Xavier a hundred years after his death will be a little astonished on hearing the manner in which his successor at Goa, Melchior Nunez, speaks of these extraordinary performances a few years after they are assumed to have taken place. 'Many things became known of him after death which, while he still lived, remained unknown.' Xavier himself, save in one ambiguous passage of his letters,* never alludes to any of the astounding miracles so freely ascribed to him by his biographers of later date. It would be but a waste of space to celebrate in a formal eulogium the wonderful labours this man underwent, his extraordinary courage, energy, and self-denial;

* See letter dated Cochin, 12th January, 1544.

the sweetness of his disposition, and his affectionate concern for the souls of his fellow-creatures. His faults were those of his age and creed, intolerance to other religions save his own, and a too great readiness to resort to the temporal arm for the conversion of the heathen. As portrayed in his own letters, and by Lucena and his succeeding biographers, he stands the very image of a true, brave, accomplished, and persuasive missionary. To this day he is the ideal and pattern of his successors in the work amongst the Roman Catholic clergy; and his example, traditions, and precepts, have everywhere exercised a pervading and lasting influence upon the course and conduct of the different missions which he founded.

The result of Xavier's labours was the formation of a mission which, from Goa as a centre, radiated over much of the coast of Asia from Orinuz to Japan. Its powers of propagandism were most felt on those parts of the coast more directly exposed to the secular influence of Portugal, and especially in the Portuguese possessions, where the terrors of the Inquisition were put in practice to spread the Catholic Faith. The number of Roman Catholics now existing on the Malabar coast probably amounts to half a million, but a large proportion of them are half-caste descendants of the Portuguese—the result of those dissolute amours which Xavier condemned. Their religion, however, is only a base and degenerate graft of Catholicism upon the rotten trunk of Paganism. Even at the present day the native Christians are inferior to the Mahometans and Hindus of Northern India in intelligence and morality. Thus the attempt of Xavier to introduce a vigorous and thriving shoot of Christianity into India has been, after all, a failure—a failure which liberal Catholics themselves acknowledge.

Far different was the history of the church which Xavier had planted in Japan with his own hands, which grew up without the sunshine of political favour, and which, as he had foretold, struck a deep root in the soil. The Jesuits have left us long and circumstantial accounts of the history of Christianity in Japan. They are compiled from the missionary reports, many of which have also been printed in a separate form. These documents give a much more trustworthy account of Japanese history and manners than can be obtained from the stilted information published by residents at the open ports since the recent commercial treaties. The Jesuit priests learned the Japanese language, and mixed with the people in all the relations of life. They joined with the great in their entertainments, and often in their intrigues and schemes of ambition; they were conversant with the sorrows and joys of the poor; and the deep confidence of the

Confessional gave them an insight into the feelings and thoughts of every class of society, which the Japanese government of to-day with their innumerable spies can never obtain. No doubt these accounts are sometimes unfaithful in detail, and rarely do justice to the opposite side; but though one is often wearied with stories of silly miracles and with prosy discourses, it is clear that the authors looked narrowly to the chain of human events, and had an accurate knowledge of the politics and passing history of the countries in which they lived. The unfavourable side of the picture is supplied by the observation of Dutch and English travellers of the seventeenth century, and by the complaints of rival orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans; but we must not look to them for a connected historical narrative.

Mr. Venn, who has carefully studied the 'Letters of Xavier,' did not even perceive the historical value of the 'Litterae Annuae' of the Jesuits:—

'I have looked,' he writes (p. 209), 'into the various collections of "Epistola Japonica," but, like the "Epistola Indica," they are filled with legends, and it is impossible, after reading "Xavier's Letters," to open those pages without the conviction that we have passed out of the regions of truth into those of exaggeration, suppression, and fiction.'

Writers on the present condition of Japan have entirely neglected these important documents. Even Mr. Dickson, in his recently published book, which comprises a complete history of Japan, and gives a general account of the history of Christianity in the islands more accurately than any preceding writer in the English language, seems not to have read the original Letters of the Jesuit Missionaries. It is difficult to trace the sources of his information, for his citations are few and vague, and he seems to have drawn most of his facts from a 'History of the Church of Japan,' apparently that of Crasset. Still his work is the most valuable one that has yet appeared. He has compared the Jesuit history with the 'Japanese Chronicles,' and has had the additional advantage of visiting Japan and conversing with some of the Japanese.

The two missionaries, whom Xavier had left at Japan, were soon after joined by three others; and in 1556 they were visited by the Provincial of the Order in the Indies, Melchior Nunez, who paid much attention to the Japanese mission and selected for it the best missionaries, as Xavier had recommended. The Provincial was accompanied to Japan by the well-known Mendez Pinto, the author of one of the few well-written books in the Portuguese language. Cosmo de Torrez, a layman who had been

been induced by the preaching and example of the 'Apostle of the Indies' to enter the Order of Jesus, remained at the head of the mission, as Xavier had left him. The missionaries guided the trade with the Portuguese; and several of the petty princes of Kiusiu were so anxious to attract to their dominions this lucrative traffic that they repeatedly cajoled the good fathers with hopes of their becoming converts.

The Jesuits attached themselves to the fortunes of the King of Bungo, a restless and ambitious prince, who in the end added four little kingdoms to his own, and thus became master of a large part of the island of Kiusiu. In his dominions Christianity made such progress that the number of converts began to be counted by thousands. The King of Bungo always remained the friend of the Jesuit missionaries, and fostered the trade with the Portuguese. He long remained a disciple of the materialistic philosophy; but twenty-seven years after his first interview with Xavier he followed the example of his queen, and was baptized under the name of Francis. The missionaries perseveringly sought to spread their religion by preaching, public discussion, the circulation of controversial writings, the instruction of the youth, the casting out of devils, the performance of those mystery plays so common in that age, by the institution of *confréries* like those of Avignon, and, above all, by the well-timed administration of alms. Nor need we be surprised to learn that their first converts were principally the blind, the infirm, and old men one foot in the grave. There are, however, many proofs in their letters that they were able both to attract proselytes of a better class and to inspire them with an enthusiasm which promised well for the growth of the mission. In those early days the example of Xavier was still fresh; and his immediate successors seem to have inherited his energetic and self-denying disposition, though none of them could equal the great mental and moral qualities of the Apostle of the Indies. They kept at the same time a watchful eye upon the political events that were going on around them, and soon began to bear a part in them. The hostility between them and the Bonzes became more and more bitter. The first public display of religious violence, however, came from the Christian party,* who, in revenge for the overthrow of a Cross, which they traced to the instigation of the Bonzes, set fire to the dwellings of their opponents, burned some of their idols, and threw the rest into the sea. This excited so much hostility against the missionaries that, although the out-

* Solier, liv. iii. chap. viii. Crasset, 'Histoire de l'Église du Japon,' Paris, 1715, tome i. liv. iii. chap. liv. Consult also Maffaeus 'Select. Epistol. ex India,' lib. i.

rage had been committed without his knowledge and consent, Father Vilela was obliged to leave Firando.

The first chief who publicly professed Christianity, the King of Omura, in the island of Kiusiu, was thrice expelled from his capital, and another time from his palace, by conspiracies of the Pagans, who nearly succeeded in drawing the two principal missionaries into an ambuscade, in which a Japanese nobleman of the Christian party was murdered. It would be difficult to say what share the Jesuits bore in these troubles; but if we remember their well-known policy, we shall be disposed to repeat in much the same spirit the accusation of a Bonze of Miako, as early as 1564, that 'all the lands where these new preachers placed their feet were suddenly destroyed by war and faction.'

They had reached Miako in 1559, where they met with toleration from the secular government, and were even suffered to build a church and make several hundred converts. The missionaries led a troubled existence, and had several times to quit the capital from the intrigues of the Bonzes, who only waited an opportunity to banish or destroy them, but found themselves baffled by the caution, tact, and political address of the strangers.

The Jesuits found a friend and protector in Nobunanga, who, whilst styling himself the avenger of the murdered Siogun and the protector of his successor, in reality arrogated to himself the whole power of the empire. Nobunanga was tall and slender, with a delicate form and scanty beard; he was a daring and successful soldier, and a shrewd, subtle, and wary politician; he cared little for the princes of Japan, and still less for its idols, which he treated as stupid inventions. He bore a bitter hatred to the Bonzes, whose temples and monasteries he despoiled and demolished to build a new palace, causing the very images of Buddha to be torn from their shrines and dragged with a rope round their necks through the streets of Miako, where, for a time, the Bonzes did not dare to show themselves. He forced the principal citizens to put their own hands to the work, which he superintended himself, wearing a tiger's skin and carrying a naked sword in his hand, with which he occasionally struck off the heads of those who offended him. The Bonzes naturally took an active part against Nobunanga in an insurrection; but he, gaining the upper hand, led his army against their sacred seat at the foot of the mountain of Frenoxama, burnt their ancient monasteries, and put all those he found to the sword.* This terrible ruler granted the Jesuits full liberty to rebuild their church at Miako, and to

* See the letter of Louis Froes, dated Miako, August, 1572, in the collection of Massaeus, for a description of the massacre of the Bonzes and the destruction of their temples.

preach the Gospel in his dominions, even adding the privilege of exemption from taxes. Allowing for the troubled state of the country and the readiness of the Bonzes to take advantage of any popular tumult to assault the missionaries, we have reason to be astonished at the toleration shown to them ; indeed, no prince in Europe of that age would have permitted a new religion to be preached through his dominions by foreign priests. The Jesuits no doubt expected that the Cross would soon be triumphantly planted on the ruins of the Buddhist temples, and the Bonzes probably associated in some way their reverses with the intrigues of the professors of the new religion, which began to number men of rank and influence.

Nobunanga, while willing to make use of the Jesuit missionaries to weaken the influence of the Buddhist priests, was so little influenced by their teaching that he formed the project of adding his own name to the list of the deified rulers of Japan. He now founded a new city and built a magnificent temple, to which he removed all the most venerated idols upon which he could lay his hands. Above them all he placed a stone, bearing his own arms and devices, and demanded that every one should pay it worship, promising, in a proclamation, long life and prosperity to those who should comply. It was noticed that no Christian had obeyed the edict, and this might have subjected them to the revenge of the tyrant, had not a conspiracy been promptly formed against him, while his younger son was absent on an expedition with the flower of the army. His palace was set on fire, and he was consumed in the flames, together with his eldest son, who had been the first to worship his idol (1582).

The conspirators promised the same toleration to the Jesuit missionaries, who had now gained so many proselytes that their support was worth having. But the revolution was of short continuance ; the younger son of Nobunanga, on hearing the news, returned with the army, defeated the conspirators, and took a terrible revenge for his father's death. He was, however, soon supplanted by one of his captains, who assumed the name of Taicosama. This man had once been a woodcutter, and though of low stature and unpleasing appearance, had, through his valour and skill in war, raised himself to the highest rank in the army. He declared the infant child of the eldest son of Nobunanga the rightful heir to his grandfather's power, but assumed the real government himself.

The usurper at first treated the Bonzes with contempt, and caressed the missionaries, who appear to have gained over his queen, a woman of great talents, but of dissolute manners. Under her influence he issued an edict similar to that of his predecessor,

cessor, permitting the Jesuits to preach the Gospel throughout all Japan, with exemption from taxes.

Every one in Nippon now obeying him, he passed over into Kiusiu, and received the fealty of its kings. The appearance of Christianity, especially in the north of that island, was most flourishing. The Christian party, now the strongest, had gained the support of the ruling party, and the Bonzes had been banished from the states of Bungo, Arima, and Omura; their temples had been destroyed, and their revenues seized upon. In Omura, whose ruler had vowed that he would tolerate idolatry no longer, the Jesuits had baptized 35,000 people in two years (1575-76). The King of the isle of Gotto also had professed Christianity, and the King of Tosa, in the island of Sikok, had been baptized, and had with much difficulty quelled a rebellion which followed his conversion. According to Crasset, the total number of Japanese Christians, in 1587, was 200,000. In Nippon the Jesuits had gained numerous converts, some of them people of rank and power, among others, a distinguished general of Taicosama, named Justo Ucondomo (Takayama), who demolished the temples within his lands, and forced his vassals to be Christians.

But the imprudent readiness which the Jesuits had shown in resorting to such violent measures in the island of Kiusiu had revealed the nature of their designs and policy. Moreover, it is likely that the Japanese had learned their character from other sources. Some Japanese travellers had reached Goa and Malacca, where they must have observed the religious persecutions the native population had endured; and the missionaries complain of the damage done to their cause by the dissolute lives of the Portuguese merchants, especially by their carrying away girls for the harems of Goa and Macao.

We must pass over the history of the missionaries during the remainder of the reign of Taicosama. Though sometimes persecuted and threatened more than once with expulsion from his dominions, they continued to make progress. The most violent persecution to which they were exposed was in the year 1596. The courage displayed by the Japanese converts on this occasion seems to have been worthy of the times of the early Church. Some demanded to be put on the list of Christians, others went to the houses of the fathers, desiring leave to remain there, in order that they might share with them the glory of a martyrdom so different from their own notions of an honourable death. The large number of names upon the roll of Christians startled the Siogun; but, without any regard to the petitions of the Jesuits that the statutes against the offending missionaries should be commuted

committed to exile, six Franciscans, three Jesuits, and fifteen lay members of the mission were seized upon and conducted to Nagasaki, where they were impaled alive. They all met their fate with heroic constancy. But the Christians were saved from further danger by the death of Taicosama, which took place in 1598. Feeling his last hour approach, the sagacious usurper had employed his remaining energies in making arrangements to secure his office to his son, Fide-jori, then a minor. The regency was committed to Iyeyas, Prince of Quanto, to whose daughter the young prince was betrothed. Four other governors were appointed to divide the regent's power, and, if possible, curtail his ambition; and five Daimios held the office of tutor or curator to the young prince. Taicosama left orders that he should be deified as the god of war. One of the Jesuits was admitted to visit him with some European presents on his last illness. He received him courteously, and ordered the fathers to be presented with two hundred sacks of rice and a ship fit to take them back to their own country, a present whose significance no one could mistake.*

Everywhere in this age we meet with those daring and intriguing priests. We find them at Agra, disputing with the learned scholars at the court of Akber, the greatest of the house of Timur Khan; in the suite of the warlike Emperors of the Mantchu Tartars, the invaders of China—at the same time fanning the hopes of the failing Chinese dynasty of Ming; in the heart of Africa, as the councillors of the great Emperor of Abyssinia, inciting him to war against his subjects for the unity of the Catholic Faith, in the same way as they armed assassins to slay the King of France and the heretic Prince of Orange, and formed a conspiracy to blow up by gunpowder the King and Parliament of England. We find them seeking for the sources of the Nile, which they knew issued from the great lakes near the equator; exploring the Canadian lakes; seeking the sources of the Amazon and La Plata, and bringing to Europe the fever-healing bark of the cinchona-tree. We see a brother of the same order, a little spare old man, whom they called Count Tilly, seated on a war-horse, watching with pitiless eye the sack and massacre of Magdeburg. Even at Yarkand, across the Himalayas, in the very centre of Asia, where, a few years ago, our own pilgrim of science—the unfortunate Schlagintweit—was beheaded, do we behold one of those missionaries of Catholicism with a turban on his head, and armed with sword

* The interview is described in a letter of Francis Pasius, in the collection of letters, 'De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis,' by John Hay, of Dalgetty, a Scotch Jesuit. Antwerp, 1605.

and bow and quiver, searching for the half-fabulous kingdom of Cathay.

One of the most powerful of the Japanese princes at this time was a Christian, called by the missionaries Don Augustin (Tsucamidono), King of Fingo and Grand Admiral of Japan, who had commanded the Japanese troops in the invasion of Corea during the reign of Taicosama. Having returned shortly before the death of the latter, Don Augustin now became the head of the Christian party in Japan, with military reputation enhanced by a great victory he had just gained over the Chinese fleet. Though a zealous Catholic, he was also an able, bold, and ambitious politician, who perceived that his own personal aggrandisement would be promoted by the spread of the new religion. His possessions in Japan were very extensive, and, as the recognised head of the Christian party, he could count upon every Christian proselyte throughout the empire as his well-wisher. He allowed the fathers to employ force in order to induce his own subjects to become Christians. On his lands the work of conversion was pushed with such rapidity that, from the death of Taicosama to the year 1600, the baptisms, exclusive of infants, reached the number of seventy thousand. It was thought that Paganism would soon entirely disappear; and Christian converts from all parts of Japan came to live under his rule. He founded a college in the isle of Amacusa, where the Jesuits taught Latin, music, and the rudiments of European science to the sons of the nobility. Here, too, they established a printing press, translated several religious works into Japanese, and printed thousands of controversial tracts.

Meantime dissensions broke out between Ieyyas and the other governors and tutors in charge of the young prince. Nine Daimios of Japan, seeing with disappointment that the strong rule of the regent left them no hope of regaining their former independence, entered into a league against him. At the head of it was Gibonoscio, a man of too irresolute a character to lead such a combination, and who thus looked for assistance to the great political and military talents of the Christian prince of Fingo. Don Augustin joined the league; but the fortune of war turned against the confederates; he was defeated in battle, taken prisoner, and conducted with two other chiefs to Miako. He refused the good offices of the Bonzes, who followed his two companions to the scaffold. 'Go away,' said he, 'I am a Christian, and have nothing to do with such fooleries.' He then placed thrice upon his head a picture of Christ and the Virgin, and, pronouncing the sacred names of Jesus and Mary, submitted to the headsman's stroke. His body, wrapped

wrapped up in a silken shroud, was conveyed to the dwelling of the Jesuits at Miako. Sewed up in the shroud were found letters to his wife and children, containing a few of those simple reflections upon the instability of human affairs, and the importance of serving God, which seem to strike men most in their adversity.

Iyeyas, better known by the name of Daifusama, no longer disguised his intention of retaining in his own family the dignity which he had received in trust. He did not, however, at first molest the Christians, who were still in a flourishing condition except in the kingdom of Fingo, where the successor of Don Augustin stopped at no measures necessary to reverse the policy of his predecessor. But nowhere had the persecutions been so steadily continued as to destroy Christianity: if one petty prince persecuted the Christians, they could take refuge in the domains of another. Often they selected provinces where the new religion was less known, and so opened a way to the missionaries. Christianity was thus diffused through all Japan, even to Yesso,* but in very unequal proportions. The Christians were most numerous in Kiusiu, and were comparatively few in the northern and western parts of Nippon. The Jesuits reckoned about 1,800,000 Japanese converts, with 900 priests, 124 of whom were of the Order of Loyola. The rest belonged to some other of the missionary orders; there were few of the secular clergy in Japan.† But the destruction of the new religion was in all probability already planned; and several circumstances contributed to harden this determination into a measure of state policy, hereditary in the house of Iyeyas.

The hostile cruisers of Holland now appeared in the Japanese waters (1602), and the Dutch did what they could to expose the policy of the Jesuits.‡ The Prince of Arima had been dethroned by his son, who became a Pagan, and the Prince of Omura,

* There is a curious account of this then unknown island by Jerome des Anges at the end of 'Relations du Japon de l'an 1619,' Paris, 1625.

† Many of the priests were Japanese. The Dominicans were most numerous after the Jesuits and Franciscans. We have consulted their accounts, but with little fruit. In 1622 the Franciscans counted six hundred thousand Christians remaining in Japan. See Rapine, XIIth Decade, p. 704. This work, entitled 'Histoire Générale de l'Origine et Progrès des Frères Mineurs de Saint François, par R. P. Rapine' (Paris, 1631), gives us the advantage of a contemporary record from an independent source to compare with the 'Letters' of the Jesuits.

‡ The calumnies the Jesuits suffered from an English captain of a Dutch ship (William Adams, no doubt) are recorded at due length in their 'Epistola Annua.' The following passage is plain enough—'Ma li Mercanti Inglesi e Olandesi sono stati quelli, che hanno fomentato e accresciuto il desiderio, che nel petto del Re ardeva di conservare il Regno.' (Lettera Annua del Giappone dell' Anno 1613. In Roma, 1617.) That the Japanese knew the game which the Catholic missionaries were playing in the Philippines, and feared its repetition in their own islands, is proved by the colloquy between a Jesuit and a Japanese nobleman in the 'Relation du Japon de l'Année 1622,' p. 196.

disgusted by some crafty intrigue of the Jesuits, deserted their cause. The conquest of the Philippine Islands by the Spaniards, which was powerfully aided by the preaching of the Jesuits and Franciscans, and by the forced conversion of the natives, filled the minds of the Japanese with alarm and distrust. The missionaries generally date the commencement of the great persecution at 1612. The truth is, persecution seems never to have raged with equal severity all over Japan. In 1613 twenty-eight Christians suffered death in the city of Yeddo, but in 1614 they had a college and two hospitals at Nagasaki, and a college at Miako, where they counted 7000 Christians. Nevertheless, their religion was doomed. Henceforth the history of Catholicism in Japan is but that of a relentless persecution enforced upon the Daimios by the Siogun. The persistent and courageous fortitude of the Christians, and the terrible determination of their persecutors to destroy every vestige of the new religion at whatever cost, are both significant of the Japanese character. We notice the same odious features as in many a persecution which the Jesuits themselves had excited against others, though several new tortures are added to the grisly horrors of martyrology. Some of the victims were swung in the air by the legs and arms with a huge stone resting on the back; others had their stomachs forcibly filled with water, which was then as violently forced out by external pressure, and others were precipitated into the boiling springs of Mount Ungen. If the Jesuits had shown themselves too little scrupulous in the means they employed to forward their propagandism, if in the days of prosperity they had yielded to the temptations of power and success, their conduct now amply proved that they were faithful to what they believed, and were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their flocks. Many priests had remained lurking in Japan after the persecution commenced, and many who were banished returned in various disguises. Most of them perished at the stake or on the gibbet. The honour of martyrdom is contested by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustans, who, though fewer in number, showed equal courage. They were supported in the most determined manner by the Japanese Christians, many of whom perished at the stake along with their confessors. The ashes of the martyrs were carefully gathered together and thrown into the sea, for nothing exasperated their persecutors more than the homage which the remaining Christians paid to the relics of those who had gained the crown of martyrdom. In the valuable collection, the 'Voyages curieux,' there is an account of the persecutions by an early Dutch trader* who had witnessed

* Rey Gysbertz; see *op. cit.*, Paris, 1663, iii^{me} partie.

some of them. He confirms, in the most circumstantial details, the letters of the Jesuits, especially as to those points which seem the most incredible—the astonishing constancy and heroic martyrdoms of young children. The 'Annual Letters' have a calm and resolute tone, but the frequency of stories of miracles and prodigies, and especially of the finding of crosses in trees, and other questionable occurrences, give a proof of the heightened fervour of their imaginations. Fiery zealots from every part of the Catholic world made their way to Japan to gain the crown of martyrdom. Among the names of the sufferers we notice those of the Father Spinola, a grandson of the celebrated Spanish general in the Netherlands, and the Father Marcellus Francis Mastrilli. The latter, a noble Neapolitan, who had enjoyed frequent heavenly visions during his recovery from a concussion of the brain, bore from the Queen of Spain a splendid robe to wrap round the body of Francis Xavier, whose tomb was opened for that purpose during the night by several priestly dignitaries of Goa (1635). The Father Mastrilli put between the fingers of the dead man a letter declaring himself the saint's child, servant, and slave, and vowing to follow in his footsteps. He rendered important assistance to the Spaniards in the subjugation of the island of Mindanao, one of the Philippines. With much difficulty he made his way to Japan, there to perish (1637), after committing a number of extravagancies.

For a moment it seemed as if Christianity would gain another chance. The Prince Fide-jori, son of Taicosama, had grown up to manhood in the great city of Ozaca under the guardianship of an able and energetic mother. Some of the fathers had been allowed to establish an observatory there and to teach physics and astronomy, mingled with natural theology, to the prince and nobility; and, according to Kämpfer, the Japanese writers still record that the young prince was suspected of being a Christian, and that many of his officers and courtiers professed the same religion. Singular to say, the Jesuits themselves, though they claim many proselytes in Ozaca, make no pretensions to so high a convert. At any rate the prince was disposed to tolerate and take political advantage of the new religion. Gathering a numerous army, which was commanded by a Christian general, Fide-jori made war against Iyeyas, but was defeated in a great battle, and is supposed to have perished with his mother amongst the burning ruins of the castle of Ozaca. Thus did Iyeyas become the founder of the dynasty of Sioguns, who ruled down to our own day in his capital of Yeddo.

The persecutions became bloodier and bloodier, and the trade with the Portuguese was placed under ever-increasing restrictions.

tions. No foreigners were allowed to reside in any part of Japan save Nagasaki, and all the half-caste descendants of the marriages between the Portuguese and natives of Japan were banished from the islands.

In the year 1635, the Dutch captured a Portuguese ship, in which they found letters from the Japanese Christians praying for aid. They forwarded them to the Siogun, and it is easy to imagine the result. The Christians of Arima, finding the persecutions intolerable, rose to the number of 37,000, placed at their head a descendant of their ancient kings, and seized the fortress and isthmus of Ximabara. Here they stood sternly at bay against an army of 80,000 men, assisted by the artillery of the Dutch; but failing of provisions and the munitions of war, they sallied out, and died sword in hand. The Jesuits had already got up a mock embassy to the Siogun, which had been detected and turned back; and in 1640 the merchants of Macao, who made their fortune by conducting a neutral trade between China and Japan, sent a ship to Nagasaki to try if commercial relations could not be re-established. The ship was seized and burnt, thirteen of the crew sent back in a junk, sixty-one were beheaded, and a gibbet was raised on the island of Decima with this inscription:—

‘As long as the sun shines in the world, let no one have the boldness to land in Japan even in quality of ambassador, except those who are allowed by the laws to come for the sake of commerce.’

These were the Dutch, and every one knows by what humiliating restrictions they bought the privilege. This barbarous decree has never to this day been abrogated in a constitutional manner; and the retainers of the Prince of Satsuma, who committed the murder which brought about the bombardment of the first city in Japan that received an European envoy in the person of Francis Xavier, perpetrated the deed in accordance with the laws of the empire, which still regards all foreigners as outlaws.

A renewed effort of the Roman Catholic clergy to penetrate into the empire of the Rising Sun was made in 1642, exactly a hundred years after the Apostle of the Indies landed at Goa to commence his eventful mission. Five Jesuits and three other priests landed in the territories of the Prince of Satsuma, but were almost immediately arrested and put to death.

In the year 1709, Mr. Dickson tells us, the Abbé Sidotti, an Italian priest of good family, made a desperate attempt to enter Japan, and succeeded in getting landed on the coast of Satsuma, where he was arrested and detained in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Jeddo until his death. This was the last effort made by the Church of Rome to gain converts in Japan until our own days, when these missionary efforts are being again renewed.

Kept carefully excluded from intercourse with the foreigner, the Japanese Christians gradually lost all remembrance of the faith which they had learnt from the mouths of the European priests. A thousand Japanese Christians are said to have suffered death for their religion ; the rest were kept under the closest surveillance, forced to carry the image of some idols round their necks, and were called upon at stated times to worship the gods of the empire. Some of their descendants exist at Yedo to this day, despised as people of the most infamous class, and still bearing the name of a religion of whose creed they know nothing.* None will deny the necessity of studying the history and modes of thought of the Japanese if we wish to deal prudently with them ; and hence the Letters of the Jesuits, to which we have directed attention in this article, deserve and will repay careful study. The Japanese are our antipodes in more things than in geographical position.

‘Nowhere,’ says Sir Rutherford Alcock, ‘is the present more completely interwoven with the past, or the impress of a nation’s history and traditions more indelibly and plainly stamped in the lineaments of an existing generation, than in Japan. The present is heir to the past always and everywhere, in the life of nations no less than of individuals ; but the present is linked to the past in Japan in a sense so peculiar that it is worthy of special attention.

‘This study of the past can alone furnish a key to the character and policy of the nation, in the possession of which lies our best hope of the future, and of turning what it may have in store to good account. We *must*, indeed, read both the present and future of Japan by the light of the past, for by such reflected light alone can either be rightly understood.’

The history of Japan up to the renewed opening of some of its ports to foreign commerce in 1858 was one of peace and prosperity. Since then it has been full of great and momentous events, presenting many difficult questions to European diplomats, and giving the greatest concern to every Japanese anxious for the welfare of his country ; but this lies beyond our present subject.

* See ‘*Voyage autour du Japon*,’ par Rodolphe Lindau, chap. xii. p. 247. Paris, 1864.

ART. XI.—1. *The Army Regulation Bill.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 16th February, 1871.

2. *Letters on Military Organisation.* By Lord Elcho, M.P. London, 1871.

3. *The Military Forces of Great Britain.* By Major-General Sir L. Simmons, K.C.B. London, 1871.

4. *The Army of Great Britain; what it is and what it might be.* By Sir William Hamilton, Bart. London, 1871.

5. *On the Prussian Infantry, 1869.* Translated from the German by Colonel Henry Aimé Ouvry, C.B. London, 1870.

M R. FROUDE, in his 'History of England,' describing the state of this country at the accession of Elizabeth, remarks:—'The art of war was changing; and the English peasantry, so far from having been taught the use of harquebuss and pistol, were no longer familiar with even their own bows and bills. "The truth is," de Feria, the Spanish ambassador, said, writing to his master, "the truth is, the realm is in such a state that we could best negotiate here sword in hand. They have neither men, money, leaders, nor fortresses, while the country contains in abundance every requisite for the support of an army." ' Such was the state of England in 1558. Three centuries have passed away, and our present position is much what it then was. A future writer on English history, who may be fortunate enough to unearth the treasures of a Russian or Prussian Simancas, may find some such letter as the following from Count Bernstorff or Baron Brunow to Prince Bismarck or Prince Görtchakoff:—'The truth is, this country has so neglected its military organisation that it has no power to enforce its own views. Any course, therefore, that is pleasing to our Imperial master may be taken. Doubtless, the English Ministry will protest, but that may be neglected. A threat of war will soon put a stop to any complaints that may annoy your Excellency. They have no army, no fortresses; their richest cities are completely open to attack, and heavy requisitions may be levied on them. The country is teeming with wealth, scattered and unprotected, all over the world. Your Excellency can do anything you please; far from being in a position to interfere with you, England is helpless to protect itself.'

The art of war is changing; and the English nation has not learned the use of the modern instruments and appliances of the military art or the necessity of organisation and forethought, while it has forgotten the old traditions bequeathed to it by its

its great leaders, and has lost its former confidence, self-reliance, and self-denial.

We propose to direct the attention of our readers to some of the changes that have taken place in the art of war, to the present state of the British army (the weapon with which the nation must encounter these changes), and to the scheme of Army Reform which the Government has put forward. We premise these remarks by observing that in questions of such vital importance as those involved in national defence—that is, national existence—we entertain no party feeling. National defence touches each individual too closely to allow of party distinction. We care not who the statesman is, to what political faith he may adhere: let him but place the national defence on a sure basis; let him but give the country a military organisation such as will press lightly on the people, either as regards their persons or their pockets; such as will enable the voice of England, when raised in the councils of nations, to be again heard with that respect which, from her wealth, civilisation, and population, she is entitled to expect; and we are sure that he will obtain the hearty support of the country. Such a statesman will confer a lasting benefit not only on his own country, but on the world at large: on his own country, because he will have removed a constant source of irritation and unquiet which—let men deny it as they choose—tends to lower and degrade England in the eyes of her own people; on the world at large, because the voice of England, ever raised to counsel peace and moderation, will then be listened to, instead of being disregarded, as at present, with scarcely concealed contempt.

The history of war forms a portion of the general history of man. Each successive stage of civilisation has marked an improvement in the art. As knowledge has increased and discoveries have been made, we invariably find that knowledge and those discoveries applied to perfect the means of attack and defence. The laws which govern the sciences of mechanics, chemistry, and electricity, have been investigated and turned to practical use; and it is to improved arms, railways, and telegraphs that the changes in the art of war are due.

When we survey the wars that have recently taken place, and compare them with those waged at the close of the last, and the beginning of the present century, we are at once struck by the fact that personal qualifications and influence have lost much of their power. We do not see great masses of human beings swayed and stimulated by the genius of a single man. Recent wars have produced no Suwarrow, no Blücher, no Napoleon. But we find war taking its place amongst the exact sciences,

sciences, study and forethought becoming as requisite for the man who wields an army as for him who designs a steam-engine or constructs a railway.

We are informed by the author of 'The Prussian Infantry in 1869,' no mean judge of what he wrote about, that—

'No one contested the fact that the breech loader was in itself a very superior weapon, but the cardinal point was, whether the common soldier would be able to attain to that degree of military education, or whether his intelligence would ever become sufficiently developed, to enable him properly to make use of that delicate and dangerous arm. If this could be attained, then certainly the weapon would be irresistible. *Mere drilling* will never make such soldiers; they must not merely act at word of command, but according to their own judgment, and of their own accord, which will then operate, so that the humblest soldier will become able to take an active part in the battle.'

Here, then, is one great change in the art of war—the intelligent use of modern firearms. Personal gallantry and intrepidity, untempered by knowledge, and untrained by education, have lost their power to command success.

If we now turn to another great cause of change, we find that the general use of railways has enabled nations to concentrate and mass together bodies of men far larger than could possibly be done in former days: the time required to concentrate the force being so much less, and the power of feeding and supplying them so much greater. The communications of the different bodies of troops, when on the line of march, being now easily kept up by telegraph, and the roads by which they march being no longer blocked and crowded by vast trains of waggons and pack-animals, the moment of arrival of the various fractions of an army at any given point or points may now be arranged almost to a certainty. Hence the application of the two great modern discoveries to war; the railway, which gives the power of rapid movement, and the telegraph, which bestows the power of instantaneous communication, have enabled a modern general to operate over a far larger area and with a far greater force than formerly. From this follows the necessity of dividing an army into component portions, or smaller armies, each complete in itself, and of allowing far greater latitude not only to the generals who command these armies, but even to the inferior officers right down through the long chain of responsibility to the privates themselves.

To obtain the full advantages which railways and telegraphs give, the greatest care must be bestowed on what may be termed the sinews and nerves of an army. Consequently, we find the staff, artillery, engineers, and administrative branches have been largely increased, and more carefully educated and trained; large fortresses

fortresses have been built to command and control the new means of communication which science has given ; commercial harbours have been protected and guarded by torpedoes ; and artillery of the most powerful kind has been mounted on fortifications.

Without entering into details which must be familiar to all our readers, the issue is reduced to very narrow limits. The whole art of war is changed : how shall we meet the change ? Our old weapons are useless and obsolete : how shall we improve and reform them ?

During the last few years the nation has been gradually beginning to see the defenceless condition in which it is placed. The Volunteer movement was one of the results of this feeling. It marked an entire want of confidence in the power of our military institutions to protect the country, or of the ability of our rulers to reform them. The words of Bacon well deserve to be pondered. 'When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate they may be sure of a war ; for, commonly, such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating, and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth war.' France for twenty years has gradually become soft and effeminate, she has grown very rich, and the hand of the spoiler has fallen heavily on her. How stands the case with England ? She has grown rich, very rich, and 'the prey inviteth.' Has she, too, grown soft and effeminate ? What means has she got to protect her wealth from the hand of the spoiler ?

When Mr. Cardwell assumed the office of Secretary of State for War, nothing was more remarkable than the uneasy state of, not only the officers, but also the privates of the army. The numerous attacks made on the army in Parliament, the exaggerated and erroneous statements of misinformed persons, and, above all, the violent language of a certain section of the Radical press, had produced their natural results. To say that the bonds of discipline, the confidence of officers and men, *inter se.* were relaxed, would be too strong a statement. But still those who know the army best will acknowledge that the foundation on which these things rest, were somewhat shaken. The officers of the army, from the Commander-in-Chief to the junior ensign, were held up to contempt ; they were described as the 'froth,' and the privates as 'the scum of society.'

The officers of the artillery and engineers, who had obtained their commissions by a public competition, as free and unreserved as the most ardent Radical could desire,* found that

* About ten per cent. of the young men who compete for the Royal Military Academy are commissioned in the Artillery ; about one-half that number in the Engineers.

they were being continually passed over and neglected. In 1867 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, moved for by Mr. Childers, reported that the retirements and consequent promotion of the artillery and engineers was 'very complicated, uncertain in its operation, based upon no clear principle, and inadequate for its purpose ;' that as regards 'keeping each rank in an efficient state, and getting rid of worn-out officers, the present arrangements work badly.' Sir J. Pakington disregarded, *in toto*, the recommendation of the Committee. Is it to be wondered at, that a certain amount of soreness was felt throughout the scientific corps ?

The Department of Control had just been introduced with a high hand, quite irrespective of the feelings or wishes of the army, in opposition to the opinion of Lord Strathnairn's Committee, on the recommendations of which it was said to be based : uneducated ignorant men were put to perform duties which required a considerable amount of scientific knowledge.* Artillery and engineer officers—specially educated men—were placed as subordinates to commissariat officers who had no such training—thus showing clearly the small amount of respect paid to scientific knowledge. General officers in command were placed in the most equivocal position with regard to their own subordinates, who assumed the right of directing and controlling them in the discharge of their duties.†

The militia and regular army were only partially armed with breech-loaders, and the Volunteers still had the old muzzle-loading Enfield rifle.

Turning to the defensive works for the protection of the coast, we find the works for the protection of the Royal Dockyards nearly completed, but entirely unarmed, the guns to be mounted on them being still under consideration, while the great commercial ports of the country—Liverpool, the Clyde, the Forth, the Tyne, and the Humber—were perfectly open and unprotected in any way.

Such was the state of our defences when Mr. Gladstone's Government succeeded to office, pledged to retrenchment, and to give peace and repose to Ireland by disestablishing the Church, and passing a Land Bill.

* There are few things that have more completely shaken the faith of the army in its rulers than the reports of Lords Strathnairn and Northcote's Committees. Not only do these two reports contradict one another, but the chief witnesses contradict themselves.

† This has been pointedly denied in the House of Commons. But the regulations on the subject are very clear. Should the general officer disagree with the Controller, the latter forwards a report of the disagreement, countersigned by the former to the Secretary of State for War. In official life, reports invariably pass from the subordinate to the superior.

Continuing the policy of the last Government, troops were largely withdrawn from the Colonies. Had the measure stopped there, the policy might have been a wise one. Concentration is strength ; but the soldiers brought home from the Colonies were simply discharged. How this could add to our strength it is difficult to understand. Large quantities of stores were sold ; only obsolete ones we were told ; but still, as no new purchases were made, obsolete stores were better than none. Workmen were discharged from the arsenals freely. No money was allowed for the purposes of experiment, in order to develop the latest and cheapest system of harbour defence,—that by means of submarine mines. Officials and soldiers were hastily discharged, no attempts being made to arrange for their recall, if subsequently required. By such means Mr. Cardwell, in moving the Estimates of 1870, showed a saving of nearly two millions. It is, however, a simple process to reduce taxation by discharging men and selling stores. It is equally simple to augment the army by hiring men and buying stores. But it requires a statesman to produce an army based on national institutions, capable of expansion and contraction without impaired efficiency, and without adding to the taxes of the country.

Such, then, was the state of our army when the war broke out between France and Prussia. The uneasy conviction that England was insecure now grew stronger and stronger. It was in vain that the country was assured that its true policy was one of isolation ; that it should look on calmly, sell arms and munitions of war to both parties, and profit by the result. It was in vain that one Cabinet Minister informed his audience that if France were crushed England might reduce her army. It was in vain that, as the strife thickened, the pages of a contemporary informed the nation 'that a new law of nations was gradually taking hold of the mind, and coming to sway the practice of the world ; a law which recognises independence, which frowns upon aggression, which favours the pacific, not the bloody, settlement of disputes ; which aims at permanent, not temporary, adjustments ; above all, which recognises as a tribunal of paramount authority the general judgment of civilised mankind.' Our senses gave the lie to these soft words. Men saw old treaties trampled on, the strong threatening the weak, and England in no condition to fulfil the guarantees and promises of support which she had given. The nation, recalling the hundreds of millions spent during the last twenty years, called upon its rulers to give an account of their stewardship. Brave words were spoken ; why should we recall them ? Their value has since been fully estimated. Bit by bit, little by little, the truth leaked out,—that we

were helpless, that hundreds of millions had been spent, and the result was as follows:—

In Great Britain and Ireland, including dépôts of regiments in India and the Colonies, there were the following forces available:—

Infantry	56,182
Cavalry	11,064 with 6695 horses.
Field Artillery	5,724 with 180 guns.
Garrison Artillery	8,295

After deducting the dépôts, the garrison of Ireland, and fortresses, we could have put in line last July about—

Infantry	30,000
Cavalry	5,000
Guns	120

the whole being nearly equivalent to one Prussian Corps d'Armée.

In addition to this insignificant body there was *on paper* a force composed as follows:—

Militia	131,773
Yeomanry	16,731
Volunteers	170,091
Army Reserve, Class I.	3,000
" Class II.	20,000
<hr/>	
Total	341,598

showing a goodly total; but Sir Lintorn Simmons, who has had ample opportunities of judging of the value of this force, sums it up in the following words, which are so much to the point that we quote them *in extenso*:—

‘ Every soldier knows that three things are necessary in the constitution of an army: first, training; secondly, discipline; thirdly, experienced officers.

‘ If we test the infantry militia by this standard, as all foreign officers undoubtedly do who come to this country to study our military institutions, the account will be,

Training	Almost Nil.
Discipline	Ditto.
Experienced officers	Very few.

‘ And they will add that the only use which could be made of them is to aid the police in enforcing the laws, to maintain peace and order in our own country, and to assist in garrisoning our fortresses.

‘ The result of all these 341,598 men in the Reserve force is, that possibly they might yield an addition of 3000 trained soldiers included in Class I. of the so-called “Army Reserve Force” to augment the regular army, and that the whole of the remainder would not add a single

single trained bayonet to the effective field army of England. What it might do, however, would be to liberate the effective army for service in the field, by taking the duties of keeping peace and maintaining order in the country, and with the assistance of the garrison and coast brigades of artillery and of the dépôts of regiments in India, of partially garrisoning our fortresses.'

Hence, supposing England had been involved in war during the past six months, we should have had the magnificent force of 30,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry and 120 guns, wherewith to meet an enemy. And for this force we have been paying fifteen millions a year!

We have seen that rapidity of execution is of vital importance in war, and that protection for commercial harbours is, in these days of legalised plunder, become a necessity. Now, last July the English army was not possessed of a single mile of telegraph wire; there were no means of repairing or destroying railways, and no corps instructed in the art of rapidly forming and working them. The whole of these important means of communication are in the hands of irresponsible civilians, who, however willing, would be quite unable, to deal with the questions of moving even a moderate force complete with its stores. We find that the Mersey, the Clyde, and the Forth, are perfectly open, without one single gun mounted, or one torpedo laid down for their defence. In case of the fleet being worsted in an action, or deceived, and drawn off from the vital point, there is nothing—absolutely nothing—to prevent an ironclad running into the Mersey, the Clyde, or the Forth, and laying a requisition of one, two, or three millions on Liverpool, Glasgow, or Edinburgh, shelling the town, if refused, and carrying off the inhabitants as hostages. Last, but by no means least, there is London, the richest prize in the world, open to be seized by any one who likes to take it. True, there is our fleet; but, if war had broken out, what side would Russia have taken? What would America have done? The fleet! that fleet would need to be ubiquitous and omnipotent to do all that is expected of it. Guard India, the Cape, the West Indies, Australia, protect the largest commerce in the world, watch and guard Ireland and the coasts of Great Britain. Were it four times as numerous as it now is, it could not accomplish one-half of what is expected from it. How often have we read in support of reductions of our naval strength, 'One ironclad is as powerful as half-a-dozen of the old wooden vessels, therefore we may reduce our force of ships in that proportion.' Fatal fallacy; we have ironclads because other nations have them too, and the increased power of a ship does not

not confer on it greater powers of locomotion, rather the reverse, for it diminishes its stowage of coal.

Such then was the state of the military defences of this country at the close of the last parliamentary session, when Mr. Cardwell came forward and asked for two millions of money to undo what he had just done, to enlist 20,000 men in order to replace those whom he had discharged.

During the Parliamentary recess the terrible lessons of the war have taught us the miseries to which a defenceless country is exposed, and have impressed upon all parties the necessity of re-organizing our Army, and of putting our defences on a footing that would secure us against invasion, and relieve us once and for ever from the disgraceful periodical panics to which we have been exposed. But, as the time appointed for the meeting of Parliament drew near, it was seen that Army reformers, however earnest they might be in seeking one goal, were desirous of reaching it by two different roads. It became evident that one large class of writers and speakers deemed that improvements and modifications of our existing systems would avail, while others considered that we must entirely alter and remodel the whole of our arrangements: or, in other words, one party, of whom Lord Sandhurst and Lord Elcho may be taken as the most prominent leaders, desired the remodelling of our military institutions with the recognised principle of universal military service tempered by the ballot; while the other party, of whom Lord Derby, Mr. Trevelyan, and Sir Lintorn Simmons, are prominent members, were opposed to the ballot, and relied upon voluntary enlistment.

It is important to bear this distinction in view, as other issues are being brought into the question. Lord Derby struck the key-note of the subject when he said. 'Tell me your policy, and I will tell you what kind of army you should have.' It is evident that until a satisfactory answer to this question is given, unless we settle first what the policy of the country is to be, or, in other words, what army we are going to maintain, it becomes impossible to decide how far the ballot is requisite. England has, by continual protestations that she will not go to war,—that she has isolated herself entirely from Continental affairs,—made the world believe she will not fight. And yet she has so bound herself up with Europe by treaties, and is so much bound up with them by her interest, that she has no policy whatever, she has lost the initiative, important alike in war as in diplomacy, and, like those who walk one way and look another, she is liable to fall over the smallest obstacle. This country, we maintain, is in such a position that she must prepare for

for *all* risks ; she must be prepared to defend herself not only on her own shores, but, if compelled to do so, to exert the whole force of the nation in a foreign war. Much as this may be deprecated, a bold offensive war is often the best defence, and perhaps the one most likely to protect the country from invasion. To send 100,000 men to defend Belgium might be the best security for our own shores. The Romans never expelled Hannibal from Italy until Scipio invaded Africa ; and the Duke of Wellington's victories in Spain secured England from all further thought of invasion. We are at present but reaping the natural fruits of a timid temporising policy. An organization capable of national defence in its broadest sense, that is to say, an organization which will enable us to defend our shores, and if requisite throw 100,000 men on any portion of Europe, is therefore absolutely requisite. 'If Great Britain, with all her wealth, is not prepared to keep such an army, the logical alternative is to dismiss her forces and trust in Providence. Either alternative is intelligible and logical, but half-and-half measures such as are now in vogue only court destruction by irritating the powers of the world, while trusting in their forbearance for existence.' Sir Lintorn Simmons, from whose pamphlet we have quoted the foregoing words, proposes to obtain the men for the army by voluntary enlistment. Considering that 40,000 men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four are required each year, he thinks it possible to obtain them on the principle of offering 'a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.' He would therefore give 2s. 2*l.* a day to each private, stopping 6*l.* a day from the pay, and lodging it in the savings-bank, so that at the end of three years a sum of 28*l.* would accumulate, which should be handed to the soldier on discharge ; and he would offer a retaining fee in the form of 10*l.* a year for nine years, during which term the soldier would serve in the reserve, and be liable to join the colours in case of war. He proposes that battalions for India and the Colonies should be made up of volunteers for six years' service. His scheme would give a force of about 250,000 men in the Army and its Reserves fit for immediate service. We do not hesitate to say that the whole plan is a very admirable one, but it depends on so many contingencies that we doubt its practical efficacy. These contingencies are :—1. Could 40,000 men between twenty and twenty-four years be obtained annually, who would enlist on the proposed terms ? 2. Would 5000 to 6000 of these men volunteer for service in India and the Colonies ? 3. Would ninety per cent. of the discharged men engage for nine years' service in the Reserve ?

These questions can only be answered by the light of past experience ;

experience ; and we find that in July, 1856, nearly a year after the Crimean war, the Army was 45,000 men below its establishment—the bounty being 10*l.* for the cavalry and 8*l.* for the infantry. And this at a time when every exertion was made to keep the small British force, never exceeding 60,000 men, supplied with recruits, when India and all the Colonies were drained of regular troops, and the Mediterranean Stations garrisoned by militia.*

Again, recruiting for the army was stopped entirely on the 1st of January, 1870. Between that date and last July nearly 20,000 men were discharged. Last July the army was 4500 men below its authorised establishment ; and although every effort has been used to obtain recruits, although the winter has been a very hard and severe one, only 14,000 men have been added to the army, the total number of recruits being 26,000 and the loss during the period we have named being 7500 men. And this although the labour market was glutted, not only by the discharged soldiers, but also by the cessation of enlistment during the early part of the year, while at the same time the standard of height was reduced to 5 feet 4*½* inches, a reduction which experience has shown increases the number of recruits by about one-fourth. We are therefore compelled to come to the conclusion that Sir Lintorn Simmons' scheme would break down at the very point where all such proposals break down, the actual supply of the individual man.

Turning to Lord Elcho's 'Letters on Military Organisation,' which we have taken as affording a representation of the second great class into which army reformers have split, we find Lord Elcho proposes :—

' That without interfering with the present modes of enlistment, the system of long enlistment should also be tried, divided into three or more periods of service, with different liabilities and increasing pay attached to each period, until the completion of the whole engagement, when the reserve pay would be succeeded by a life pension. Thus, a soldier engaged, say for twenty-one years, might serve five years with the colours, seven years in the First Reserve—liable at any time to join a regiment at home or abroad, if necessity arose—completing the term of his engagement in the Second Reserve, attached to the Militia, which would thus gain a permanent nucleus of trained soldiers. That the army "Militia Reserve" should be increased, and that a certain number of Militia regiments should be mobilised, that is, placed

* Those people who believe the army is composed entirely, or even largely, of bad characters, are strangely in error. Bad characters do not enlist unless with a high bounty ; and doing away with bounty is one great improvement introduced by Mr. Cardwell.

on a permanent active list, and be at all times ready for service anywhere along with the regular army.

‘Secondly, as regards the Regular or Sedentary Militia for home service only. That it should be increased; that individual volunteering for army service from the Militia should be forbidden, except into the Army “Militia Reserve”; that for every man who volunteered into it, another should be raised for the Militia; that the Militia *for home service* should be raised by ballot, no substitute being allowed, and voluntary enlistment in the Militia being confined to the mobilised regiments.

‘Thirdly, as regards the Volunteer force. That it should be maintained and made efficient by constituting a certificate of efficiency in a Volunteer Corps an exemption from the Militia Ballot, and that continuous efficiency should further be required for five years.

‘Thus, every youth on attaining the age of twenty years, no matter what his rank or position, would have to risk the chance of service in the Militia, or give five years’ continuous efficient service in the Volunteer force; and if during any one of these five years he failed to become efficient, or was dismissed his corps, he would in the year following, although past the ordinary ballot age, have to run the chance of Militia service.’

Pension and ballot are the keystones of these proposals, which are in the main sound, but are open to some very serious objections.

1. If we have the ballot and continuous service with a pension working together, the nation will be weighted both in person and purse.

2. The proposal to convert regiments of militia into regiments of the line, by mobilising them, and then enlisting for them as for the line, is simply adding so many additional battalions to the regular army.

3. There is no proposal for localising regiments, which we conceive takes the sting out of the ballot system.

4. There is no fusion together of the different armies of which the military force of the country consists.

Such was the general type of the various proposals for army reform laid before the country shortly before Parliament met; and then it was announced in her Majesty’s Speech that Army Reform would be brought prominently before the House of Commons, and that her Majesty’s Ministers would propose a scheme suitable for the wants of the country. It is not too much to say that so stirred were the people of this country by the events taking place in France, that rarely have the utterances of a minister been more anxiously expected than were those of Mr. Cardwell, when he rose to address the House on the 16th of February last. And the views which he stated as having actuated the Government are undoubtedly correct:—

We

'We have,' said Mr. Cardwell, 'on the part of the community at large an interest in the subject, which in former years it has been very difficult to evoke; and it is the opinion of the Government that if we are to deal at all with a question of this magnitude and importance, we ought not to deal with it in a superficial and partial manner, but to take a broad and comprehensive review of the subject, and endeavour to lay the deep foundations of a system which may render danger or the apprehension of danger in the future, altogether unknown.'

Words such as these must ever command the sympathy and respect of Englishmen. But there are things which command the respect and sympathy of Englishmen still more than words, and those are deeds. Are the proposals of the Government such as will remove all 'apprehension of danger in the future'? Does the Government propose to re-organise the military force of the country so as to enable it to meet the changes introduced in the art of war? If an affirmative answer can be given to these questions, then the country owes Mr. Gladstone's Government a deep debt of gratitude.

The proposals contained in Mr. Cardwell's speech, and embodied in 'the Army Regulation Bill' are seven in number.

I. The abolition of purchase.

II. To withdraw from the Lieutenants of Counties the power they now have with regard to the auxiliary forces.

III. Army enlistment for a period not exceeding twelve years, to be spent partly in the reserve and partly with the colours, as the Secretary of State and the soldier may agree on.

IV. The militia to be raised by voluntary enlistment, and the period of drill extended for a period of six months, at the option of the Secretary of State for War.

V. The laws of the ballot are altered. It is to be used only in cases of great emergency; then Parliament must be summoned, and the Sovereign, by an Order in Council, may direct the militia to be recruited by the ballot.

VI. The Articles of War to be applied to the Volunteers when under arms for a review.

VII. The Government to have power on an emergency to take possession of the railways.

Let us now try and examine each of these seven heads, and test how far they improve the national defences; how far they meet the altered condition of war; and how far they will enable England to occupy her proper position in the world. On each of these proposals we would offer a few remarks.

I. There are few subjects that have been more misunderstood, and we are sorry to say misrepresented than the purchase system. It is a bargain between the officers and the State, a most one-sided

sided bargain, it is true, for the former gain little and lose much, while the latter gains everything. Mr. Cardwell asks the nation to get rid of this bargain, to destroy a system that exists and gives satisfaction to the officers of the army; and he states that the cost of putting an end to it will be 8 millions. No detailed estimate of this large sum is furnished. Many well informed people say the cost will be 12 millions. Assume it, however, at 8 millions, what system is proposed in its place? simply none. What estimate is furnished of the cost of carrying out efficiently what purchase now does without cost?—simply none. The proposal then is to destroy an existing system by the transfer of an unknown sum, varying from 8 to 12 millions from the pockets of the tax-payers to the pockets of the officers of the cavalry and infantry of our army. To substitute in place of this system an unknown something. And when this is all done, how stands the question of National Defence?

Simply where it was before.

The opponents of purchase have made so many extraordinary statements about it, that the mind of the public has conceived the most erroneous ideas on the subject. Without going into the origin of purchase, let us examine its practical working. When a young man having 450*l.* is desirous of getting a commission, he must pass an examination before he is eligible, and that examination is in the hands of the Government, who may make it as strict as they think fit. As a matter of fact, these examinations become stricter and stricter each year. Suppose the young officer gazetted as an ensign, no amount of money can make him a lieutenant until he is first on the list and has passed an examination which may be as strict as the authorities choose to make it. Suppose the lieutenant's step gained, no amount of money can make him a captain until he is first on the list, and has passed an examination which the authorities can again make as strict as they please. *And at no time can any officer be promoted unless his commanding-officer recommends him.* It is a fact well known to military men that the refusal to recommend for promotion is a powerful lever in the hands of commanding-officers. It is an equally well-known fact that the Commander-in-Chief does exercise a strict supervision over the higher appointments in regiments. These things are not published to all the world. Few men care, like a certain officer of the Guards, to inform the public that they have been passed over, and deemed inefficient; but the thing is continually done, and, as continually, political and personal influence are brought to bear to reverse these decisions. 'Take care of Dowb,' was telegraphed by one Secretary of State for War to a general officer in the Crimea;

Crimea; and we may rest assured that 'Dowbism' exists, and will exist, in the army, as it exists, and will exist, everywhere else.

Mr. Trevelyan has informed the country that we pay 166,000*l.* a year for honorary colonelcies, 40,000*l.* for army agents, 27,000*l.* for distinguished service, and 155,000*l.* for widows' pensions; and that these annual sums are paid on account of the purchase system, and might all be saved if the purchase system were done away with. How, he does not tell us. Let us examine these items:—

*166,000*l.* to honorary colonels.* Of this sum 23,000*l.* are paid to honorary colonels of the artillery and engineer services, where no purchase exists. There are certain prizes in the army: chief amongst them are these appointments; the officers who get them are selected by the Commander-in-Chief. We can understand a better distribution of this sum, 166,000*l.*; we can understand it being proposed to cut it off altogether, and to say to the old men who look to these rewards as a means of ending their days comfortably, 'Go! we will give you nothing.' But we can't conceive what it has to do with purchase. What does it matter if an old General, to whom 100*l.* a year are given, is called Colonel of the 20th Regiment? Its only effect is, that he has to pay a certain sum to the band and mess of the regiment, while in all probability he never hears the one, nor dines at the other.

*40,000*l.* for army agents.* If Mr. Trevelyan had said he could not see why army agents are paid at all; if he had proposed to raise the officers' pay, and to allow them to pay their own agents; we could understand a reason for his doing so. Such charges are *really an increase of pay*, and should be shown as such; but when he says that this sum may be saved by doing away with purchase, we simply ask, How? The artillery and engineers have an agent who is paid 4500*l.* out of this 40,000*l.*, and they are non-purchase corps. What connexion has purchase with this subject?

*27,000*l.* for distinguished service* remains. Out of this sum artillery officers and engineer officers, as well as others, get the 100*l.* a year that is occasionally given for distinguished service. What, in the name of common sense, has purchase to do with this?

*155,000*l.* to widows.* Of this sum 89,000*l.* go to the widows of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and engineer officers—the two latter non-purchase corps—and the remaining 66,000*l.* go to the widows of medical, commissariat, military store, and other departmental officers. In the name of common sense and honesty, we

we ask what has purchase to do with this? Had Mr. Trevelyan said, 'Don't pay officers' widows any more;' had he said, 'Increase the officers' pay, and let them provide for their own widows;' either proposal we could have understood, but we cannot see what purchase has to say to this question.

But of all the curious statements we have heard put forward is that which says, 'Officers who pay for their commissions do not fight as well as those who do not. They are afraid to risk their lives.' We call this 'a curious statement,' because it displays such ignorance of the history of England that we wonder, even in these days of loose speaking, how any man dared to make it.

Purchase has conferred the following benefits on the nation:—

1st. It has given a rapid flow of promotion without cost to the taxpayer. Out of 127,000*l.* voted for full-pay retirements, 61,000*l.* go to the cavalry and infantry, and 66,000*l.* to the artillery and engineers. If purchase is destroyed, and a sum equivalent to that which the artillery and engineers now get is voted for the cavalry and infantry, this sum of 127,000*l.* must be increased to 700,000*l.* If the retirements be placed on the footing that the Special Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Childers, declared was requisite for the artillery and engineers, this sum must be increased to 1,700,000*l.*

2nd. In every profession, where men enter young, numbers must come in who are put there by their friends, and who are unsuited, from many causes, for the duties. Purchase gets rid of these men rapidly and quietly. Out of 1000 men who enter the army as ensigns, it appears that 442, or two-fifths, leave before they become captains, and 185, or nearly one-fifth more, leave as captains. Thus, more than three-fifths of the whole number leave before they become Field-officers. Hence the State is no longer burdened with either employing or pensioning men whose tastes and feelings are not adapted to a military life. Compare this with the non-purchase corps, the artillery and engineers, in which officers enter to serve for their lives, and in which the Duke of Cambridge said the service suffered because it was almost impossible to get rid of inefficient officers.

3rd. Independent officers are obtained. In the present state of the art of war independent officers are all-important. The opinions of the author of 'The Prussian Infantry, 1869,' are at least worthy of respect, and he tells us, speaking of peace reviews, 'An officer does not act according to his own military view, but according to the principles which he knows are held by the superior officer, with whom the final decision lies.' The anomalies perpetrated 'sink deep into the minds of the troops.

and

and poison the judgment of the officer who is *not intellectually self-dependent.*'

4th. Purchase is an admirable bargain for the nation. Mr. Clode, in his book, 'The Military Forces of the Crown,' tells us—

' The purchasing officers of the line, have done more than provide a retirement for non-purchasing officers of their own branch of the service, they have given a retirement to officers of the non-purchase corps (*i.e.* Artillery and Engineers), and to others who have never been contributors. Their fund has been diminished on several occasions, by direct payments to the Exchequer, and by indirect payments to the same account, that is by buying up the commissions of officers whose half-pay then ceased to be a charge on the Treasury.'

Mr. Cardwell assured the House of Commons, in a quotation from Shakespeare, that honour, not gold, is the soldier's guerdon. Assuredly honour, not gold, has been the purchasing officer's guerdon.

When purchase is abolished, what prospect is there that a better or any system at all will be substituted? Purchase acts now as a kind of natural selection. Those men who are unsuited for the army go away, without expense to the country; those men who are suited remain. But it is said that promotion is to be by selection. How can selection be exercised in an army like the English army, scattered all over the world? Is it not more than likely that promotion will fall to the fortunate men who can remain at home, and hang about London? What portion of our military arrangements has always proved successful? The regimental: therefore break it down. What portion has usually failed? The staff, founded on selection: therefore introduce selection generally.

We freely admit that the very name of 'purchase' creates a prejudice against the system, which the majority of persons don't take the trouble to understand, and when a powerful ministry purposes its abolition we consider that it is doomed. But let the country clearly understand the cost. In addition to the eight or twelve millions, which are required for the purchase of commissions, another million must be provided annually for retirement, representing an enormous permanent cost. For a small portion of this sum London might be fortified, and the Forth, Clyde, Mersey, Tyne, and Humber secured from a foreign foe. Which would render the country most secure? Which, in Mr. Cardwell's own words, 'is the most likely to render danger or the apprehension of danger in the future altogether unknown?'

II. It is proposed by the Bill to withdraw from the Lieutenants

tenants of Counties the powers they now have in regard to the auxiliary forces. This is undoubtedly a wise reform, if it be worked properly. But we are not informed how these forces are to be officered. Taking away a bit of parchment from a militia officer which is signed by a Lieutenant of a county, and giving him a similar bit of parchment signed by the Queen, does not alter the efficiency of the man. It has been stated that the abolition of purchase will enable the regular Army to be fused with the Militia. How this will be accomplished we are not informed; but, as we are told by the advocates of the abolition of purchase that it will take thirty years to do away with the obstacle, the process of fusion will be slow. And, in the meanwhile, is the country the stronger for the change? Mr. Trevelyan very properly impressed upon his audience in Edinburgh that 'the organisation must not only begin at once, but it must be complete.' On examination, we find, that, while the Militia are to be removed from the authority of the Lieutenant, the chief magistrate of the county, they are partially to be placed under the Justices of the Peace, who are to provide the barracks; and the cost of these barracks is to be borne by local rates and not imperial funds. Nothing interferes with the efficiency of the Militia more than the billeting system; yet, while Mr. Cardwell takes the patronage of the regiment out of the hands of the Lieutenant of the County, he vests the provision of barracks, and consequent efficiency of the regiment, in the Justices, and attempts to charge the local rates, already strained to the utmost, with an expenditure for imperial purposes.

III. Army Enlistment for a period not exceeding twelve years, to be spent partly in the Reserve and partly with the colours, as the Secretary of State for War and the soldier may agree on.

We are not informed of the effect of these arrangements upon the pension received by the soldier. Will he receive a pension at the end of twelve years or not? How will this affect recruiting? The whole object of short service is to get a large Reserve force. But if the supply of recruits fails, what is to become of the Reserve? The pension a soldier receives, at the end of his service, is usually one great inducement to enlist. We get, or may calculate on getting, some 30,000 recruits yearly. Should we obtain so many if there were no pensions? Again, it may be fairly asked, is it right to rest such an important matter as the formation of an army reserve on the wishes or will of the soldiers themselves? There is no proportion fixed between the numbers of men in the active army and the Reserve; and, judging by recent speeches in both Houses of Parliament, there is every likelihood of

The Government Army Bill.

or a large proportion of the army being placed in the Reserve, and still counted as effective by the Minister for War, thus leaving the effective force of the country to be played with, as it ever has been, solely to suit the convenience of the Government of the day.

IV. The Militia are to be raised by voluntary enlistment, and the period of drill extended for a period of six months, at the option of the Secretary of State for War.

The proposal to drill the Militia recruits for six months is undoubtedly a good one; but when will the country, so far as its national defence is concerned be benefited by this proposal? and how will it affect recruiting for the Militia? Will recruits be obtained as easily when they have to be drilled for six months as for one month?

V. The Laws of the Ballot are altered. Instead of being, as now it is, the actual law of the country, it is to be used only in cases of great emergency. Then Parliament must be summoned, and the sovereign, by an Order in Council, may direct the Militia to be recruited by the ballot.

Now, if there is one thing more than another in ^{III} which modern discovery has revolutionised the art of war, it is the necessity—the paramount necessity—of being *ready*. To talk of raising the militia by ballot when an emergency has taken place, is simply to talk of insuring the house after the fire breaks out. It has been well said that England, from the fact of being an island, bounds every state, and, consequently, her frontier, or coast-line, is exposed to attack on every point. Her wealth, ^{metropolis}, perfectly defenceless, is only two days' march from her frontier; her great commercial cities, equally undefended, are chiefly on her frontier; and, when she is attacked, the game is not the same for the two belligerents: one stakes its fleet and a small portion of its army, the other stakes her existence. 'An emergency' takes place. When can we put the men in line? That is the question. Will it be in three or six months? and what under existing circumstances do three or six months mean?

Again we turn to Mr. G. O. Trevelyan; and he tells us 'Nothing conduced so much to the ruin of the Emperor Napoleon as his taking one half of a new system without having the determination to accept it in all its parts. He relied on the Mobiles, and did not dare to turn them into soldiers.' 'Mr. Cardwell does not rely on voluntary enlistment *when* an army alone is wanted, viz.: 'an emergency'; but he does not dare to prepare an army beforehand. He alters one of the oldest laws of this country, *the liability to universal service for home defence*, and limits it to 'an emergency.' Is the country any the stronger

stronger to this alteration? Is the national defence one whit improved?

VI. The Articles of War are to be applied to the Volunteer when under arms for a review. This simply annoys the volunteers and does no good, for it is manifestly impossible to force it.

VII. The Government has power on an emergency to take possession of the railways. This is undoubtedly a wise and strong provision, and would aid national defence.

We have now considered the Government proposals for reorganizing the Army and improving the national defence, for enabling our military forces to meet the altered conditions of the art of war, and for giving us that security and that protection which the enormous sum we annually pay entitles us to expect. And we find that they amount to *nothing*—*absolutely nothing*. We are to spend this year 2,800,000*l.* extra in order to put us in nearly the same position in which we were eighteen months ago; but as for any ~~system~~—any measures for dealing with this all-important subject ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~plan~~ in a superficial way—any sign ‘of a broad and comprehensive review of national defence’—any attempt ‘to lay the deep foundations of a system which may render danger and the apprehension of danger in the future altogether unknown’—they are ~~not~~ to be found in the Government proposals. It is with feelings of the deepest regret, the most profound sorrow, that we are forced to come to this conclusion. Leave the abolition of purchase out of the question, what does the proposed scheme contain for good or evil? Absolutely nothing. Some years ago we saw a magnificent ocean-going steamer on a rock within sight of her port, crowded with passengers, loaded with freight and specie. She was uninjured. Could she be floated off she might be saved. Those employed to rescue her sought to do so by attaching huge indiarubber cylinders to her sides, but in vain. Each time the tide rose and the strain of the great chains was thrown on the flimsy material, it tore to bits and the air escaped. Day after day of favourable weather was afforded, to the astonishment and wonder of all who knew that stormy coast. It seemed as if every chance that Providence could give, was given; but neglecting the experience of those who understood such matters, nothing was tried but bags of indiarubber filled with air. Suddenly a gale arose; the workmen had to fly for their lives, and the splendid ship rapidly became an utter wreck. England may be fully prepared to that ship: she is now unhurt, uninjured on a rock, requires but skill and courage to float her off—to take her as of old, on the crest of the waves. Providence has



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